

## French Leaders From '94 Defend Rwanda Policy

Charges of Complicity in Killings Are 'Revolting,' Balladur Asserts

By Charles Trueheart  
Washington Post Service

PARIS — Bristling with indignation four years after the fact, the men who led the French government during the 1994 massacres of hundreds of thousands of people in Rwanda defended themselves and France on Tuesday against charges of indirect complicity in the genocide.

The generally bad reviews of France's military role in Rwanda, said a former prime minister, Edouard Balladur, were part of a "revolting" campaign to discredit "the only country in the international community that tried to act."

Mr. Balladur spoke alongside Alain Juppe, his foreign minister in 1994 and later prime minister, and Francois Leotard, his defense minister, in testimony before an unprecedented commission of the national legislature that is looking into France's role in the Rwanda conflict.

Both Mr. Balladur and Mr. Juppe defended France's initiative — and condemned the admitted inertia of the United States and others — in leading Operation Turquoise, the humanitarian force mandated by the United Nations that sought to ease a state of civil war in Rwanda in midsummer 1994, three months after the massacres of Tutsi and moderate Hutu began.

The former officials echoed earlier National As-



Mr. Balladur, flanked by Mr. Leotard, left, and Mr. Juppe awaiting the start of the French inquiry.

sembly testimony from experts that Operation Turquoise may have saved as many as 20,000 lives. But the operation has also been accused of failing to prevent much greater slaughter while rescuing French nationals and protecting extremist Hutu, friendly to France, who were carrying out the massacres.

France had for years closely supported and armed the Hutu-dominated regime of President Juvenal Habyarimana, who was killed when a missile downed his plane on April 6, 1994, as it approached the airport in the Rwandan capital, Kigali.

Although the source of the missile was never established, Mr. Habyarimana's death triggered the apparently well-planned retributive massacres of

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## Human Rights Body Snubs U.S. on Cuba

Anti-Castro Resolution Voted Down

By Brian Knowlton  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — In a dramatic sign of waning support for U.S. efforts to isolate Cuba, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, meeting in Geneva, on Tuesday voted down a U.S.-backed resolution critical of Cuban human-rights policies.

The vote — the first time in seven years such a resolution had been defeated by the commission — was labeled a "direct slap in the face to President Clinton" by a spokesman for Senator Jesse Helms, the conservative chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

It appeared to be a clear indication that efforts by President Fidel Castro to place a kinder face on his Communist government, highlighted by Pope John Paul II's recent visit to the island, were beginning to pay off.

"This is the victory of reason," the Cuban delegate to the commission, Alfonso Martinez, said after the vote, which carried by 19 to 16, with 18 abstentions. Mr. Martinez praised the vote as a "victory over inflexibility and lack of tolerance."

The U.S. State Department expressed its keen disappointment with the vote. "We do believe that the commission's failure to adopt this resolution will unfortunately be interpreted as a sign of support for the repressive policies of the Cuban government," said a spokesman, who spoke on the basis of anonymity.

The spokesman said the administration found it "disturbing" that some countries which had previously supported the U.S. resolution had changed their positions this year. Despite the releases of some Cuban political prisoners, he added, "the basic situation remains unchanged."

The United States has appeared increasingly isolated in its Cuba policy. It has been harshly criticized by Europeans and others for the Helms-Burton law aimed at restricting foreign invest-

ment in Cuba, though the European Union has now dropped a legal challenge to the act. (Page 13)

The vote Tuesday brought dismay from conservatives, some Cuban-American exile groups and human-rights organizations.

"It's a stunning defeat for the Clinton administration, coming just days after the president met with many of the Latin American leaders in Santiago," said Marc Thiessen, spokesman for Senator Helms. The leaders with whom President Bill Clinton met included some whose representatives voted against the U.S. resolution, Mr. Thiessen said.

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## Midwest Finds the World at Its Door

By Helen Dewar  
Washington Post Service

HASTINGS, Nebraska — When Senator Chuck Hagel, Republican of Nebraska, visited the T-L Irrigation Co. here last Tuesday, the big topic was an impending shopping trip by a delegation from China. A reporter from a local television station wanted to know about Asia's financial turmoil. What about funding for the International Monetary Fund, a manufacturer of cattle watering troughs asked Mr. Hagel over sandwiches at the OK Cafe.

By the end of the day, Mr. Hagel had touched down verbally almost everywhere from Bosnia to Turkmenistan to the Philippines. "We are living in a global village, undegraded by a global economy," he told students at the University of Nebraska, using words not normally associated with a Midwestern Republican conservative.

So much for the midcentury image of the largely Republican Midwestern Farm Belt as the wellspring of American isolationism, a stereotype that lingered long after the reality began to fade.

Now it is a hotbed of trade-based internationalism, and Mr. Hagel, for one, is ready to help lead a fight to ensure that the Republican Party's presidential nominee in 2000 shares that thinking. As farm exports grew after World War II, the Midwest became more like the rest of the country, producing its share of foreign-policy leaders, recently including such Republicans as Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana and the former Senate majority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas, as well as those who thundered against foreign aid.

By the end of the Cold War, the country often seemed to be pulling back from the world, unleashing nationalist and protectionist forces that thrived in a climate of disengagement. At the same time, Midwestern exports were growing at a fast clip. Now, after several decades of mounting dependence on foreign markets to absorb its agricultural abundance and a recently passed "Freedom to Farm" bill encouraging even more production, America's breadbasket is wedded to the world.

As a result, politicians are in the forefront of many internationalist initiatives, although this clearly has its limits when Midwestern eco-

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## Paris-Bonn Fight: It's About More Than Banker's Name

By John Vinocur  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — No one strains credulity in saying that the most important man in Europe could be the president of the future European central bank and that the bank itself might soon become the institution most affecting Europeans' everyday lives.

Considering the size of the stakes, it cannot be much of a surprise that the selection of the person who will oversee Europe's marriage to a single currency has turned into a battle diminishing Europeans' expectations of a bank independent from politics and competing nationalisms.

But the bank's uncomfortable and vaguely defined

relationship with political power now goes further than a problem that can be resolved simply by choosing Wim Duisenberg, the Dutch president of the European Monetary Institute, or Jean-Claude Trichet, governor of the Bank of France, or a compromise candidate.

The fact is, the European central bank is coming to life amid distrust and a real measure of recrimination. This is because the struggle for the bank is largely a hidden confrontation between Germany and France about issues at the heart of the new Europe: who gives up how much sovereignty with the coming of the euro, and who

holds control over European monetary policy.

For the Germans, selecting Mr. Duisenberg, with his hard-money credentials and years as a trusted banker in a country linked to the Deutsche mark zone, means nothing less than retaining the de facto authority that they have exercised over the European monetary system for decades. It is an uncomfortable, taboo-laden issue but one so basic to the German national interest and voters' instincts that Gerhard Schroeder, the Social Democrat heavily favored to become chancellor in September, said last week that Mr. Duisenberg's nomination would be a positive signal to everyone.

For the French, leaving the bank to Mr. Duisenberg

See BANK, Page 7

## Election and Party Clout Keep Hashimoto Afloat

Japan Sticks With Status Quo for Lack of Choice

By Kevin Sullivan  
Washington Post Service

KITAKYUSHU, Japan — Business at Yukio Nagai's little machine-parts factory is so bad that you almost half-believe him when he pulls hard on his cigarette and jokes that, "I may have to hang myself."

Mr. Nagai knows exactly who he blames for his pain: Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and the governing Liberal Democratic Party. Mr. Nagai says the leader has bungled the economy and should resign immediately. He says the party is like a heavy weight dragging Japan to the bottom of the ocean.

But when national elections for Parliament roll around in July, you can bet that if Mr. Nagai is still in business he will plaster his walls with Liberal Democratic campaign posters.

The big companies that buy Mr. Nagai's machine parts back the party, which has always been married to big business. Mr. Nagai says they lean on him with a simple message: Support the Liberal Democrats, or we'll find another supplier.

"I'm not in the position to say no, so I'll have to put up the posters," Mr. Nagai said.

The Liberal Democrats have governed Japan for most of the last half of this century, and the party's enduring presence is all the more remarkable for the enormous unpopularity of its leader and the worst economic crisis since World War II.

The heat is getting hotter for Mr. Hashimoto.

On Tuesday, the influential Yomiuri Shimbun, the world's largest daily newspaper, with a circulation of more than 14 million, accused Mr. Hashimoto of "virtually disappearing in times of crisis." Comparing the current economic turmoil to the doomed voyage of the Titanic, the newspaper said in an unusual front-page article, "The country does not need a wishy-washy prime minister."

Tokyo was abuzz as politicians and

analysts speculated that the newspaper criticism was influenced by former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, who leads a conservative faction of the Liberal Democrats.

Mr. Nakasone is believed to want to push out Mr. Hashimoto in favor of Seiroku Kajiyama, 72, the former chief spokesman of the Hashimoto cabinet. Mr. Kajiyama is frequently mentioned as a possible successor, but many here see him as an old-guard conservative

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Ryutaro Hashimoto on Tuesday.

## Air France Crash Spurs New Calls on Standards

By Tom Buerkle  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — American and European aviation regulators renewed calls Tuesday for tighter safety standards in developing countries after the crash in Colombia of an Air France flight that was using a jetliner leased from an Ecuadorian military transport company and operated by it.

The Boeing 727 aircraft made a wrong turn after taking off from Bogota's airport late Monday and crashed just below the peak of the 3,444-meter-high El Cable mountain,

killing all 43 passengers and 10 crew members, Colombian authorities said.

Air traffic controllers warned the plane that it was off course moments before it crashed, a Colombian aviation official said Tuesday. The pilot acknowledged the warning, but did not report any emergency before the plane went down.

The Air France flight originated in Paris and used an Air France plane and crew on the leg to Bogota, but under a long-term leasing arrangement, passengers continuing to Quito switched to the Boeing 727 operated by Transportes Aereos Militares de Ecuador, a transport airline run by the Ecuadorian military.

The accident underscored a feature of the booming worldwide travel industry that increasingly worries regulators and consumer organizations: Airline deregulation has brought thousands of once-exotic destinations within reach of millions of ordinary travelers, but passengers often have little assurance or knowledge that the carrier who sold their ticket will actually provide the aircraft and crew to take them there or that air-safety standards will be properly enforced by regulators in the country of destination.

"This is a very big issue," said Katherine Crudy, a spokeswoman for the Federal Aviation Administration in Washington. "The entire world is taking a much more global outlook to aviation safety."

Since 1992, the agency has assessed aviation authorities in 87 countries or regional blocs and found that two-thirds did not fully comply with the global safety standards set by the International

See AIRLINES, Page 7



A grandmother of Angelina's wiping tears at the funeral Tuesday with the slain girl's mother, Violet Dlamini.

## Infant's Murder Shakes South Africans

By Lynne Duke  
Washington Post Service

ZESFONTEIN, South Africa — Nicholas Steyn was drunk that day, for that is how he usually was, his black workers said — a drunk and angry white man, although no one could say quite why. But it was best to give him a wide berth, they said, for he also flaunted guns. He would shoot into the air in bursts of belligerence. People had been afraid of him for a long time.

So when Mr. Steyn shouted angrily at

11-year-old Francina Dlamini from the gate of his rural homestead one day, she did not stop. Toting her 6-month-old cousin Angelina in a traditional blanket pouch on her back, Francina was near the three-room hut where she lived with 10 relatives, who represented two generations of rural workers for the Steyn family. She was almost home.

But Mr. Steyn fired a handgun. A bullet blazed along the tops of the tall dry grass, straight at Angelina's head. It smashed through the infant's skull and came to a stop in Francina's back.

Screams immediately arose from this obscure locale about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Johannesburg, and they have been joined, in the ensuing days, by the collective expressions of angst from a nation struck by the symbolism of the April 11 killing: that the ugly past of apartheid remains palpable for those who live at society's margins, subject to the whims of their rural employers.

Baby Angelina was buried Tuesday. Her tombstone read simply that

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Newsstand Prices

Andorra	10.00 FF	Lebanon	11.300
Antilles	12.50 FF	Morocco	16 Dh
Cameroon	1.500 CFA	Oman	10.00 QR
Egypt	1.500 CFA	Réunion	12.50 FF
France	1.500 CFA	Saudi Arabia	10 SR
Italy	1.500 CFA	Senegal	1.100 CFA
Libya	2.500 CFA	Spain	225 Ptas
Ivory Coast	1.250 CFA	Tunisia	1.250 Dh
Jordan	1.250 JD	U.A.E.	10.00 Dh
Kuwait	700 Fils	U.S. MIL. (Eur.)	\$1.20



## AGENDA

### Catholic Man Shot To Death in Ulster

PORTADOWN, Northern Ireland (AFP) — A man was shot and killed Tuesday in Portadown, Northern Ireland, hospital sources said.

The victim, a Catholic in his 30s, was approached by a man on a bicycle in a Protestant area of the town who shot him several times in the head, police sources said. The man was taken to a hospital where he died later.

No one has claimed responsibility for the shooting, and police would not say whether the incident was linked to the province's sectarian conflict.

Speaking before the man died, the British Northern Ireland secretary, Mo Mowlam, condemned the shooting as "a cowardly act which will be utterly repugnant to everyone."

The Dollar

New York	Tuesday @ 4 P.M.	previous close
DM	1.7882	1.8013
Pound	1.6747	1.6756
Yen	131.25	132.125
FF	5.866	6.037

The Dow

Tuesday close	previous close
+43.1	9184.94
	9141.84

S&P 500

Tuesday @ 4 P.M.	previous close
+2.89	1126.46
	1123.57

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THE AMERICAS

# A Diverse Coalition Takes Shape to Fight Against NATO Enlargement

By Eric Schmitt  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Ben & Jerry's, the ice-cream company, is against expanding NATO. So are the conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly and Sam Nunn, the retired Georgia Democrat who was the Senate's most authoritative voice on national security matters.

From left, right and center — and all points in between on the political compass — an unlikely coalition of arms-control advocates, business leaders, United Nations-bashers and foreign-policy specialists has launched a grassroots campaign to derail the addition of

Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic to the military alliance.

A business group headed by Ben Cohen, chairman of Ben & Jerry's, aired a 30-second commercial on several network talk shows Sunday warning that expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would alienate Russia and rekindle Cold War tensions. The same group took out a full-page ad in The New York Times on Monday with the headline, "Hey, Let's Scare the Russians!"

The right-to-left coalition has set up "electronic town meetings" on talk-radio shows in more than 20 cities.

Opponents of NATO expansion know they face an uphill struggle in

trying to reverse the tide of support for NATO expansion in the Senate, which is expected to resume debate on the issue this week. Two-thirds of the Senate — 67 of 100 senators — must approve the expansion.

"We need 34 converts, and that's a long way to go," said Senator Robert Smith, a New Hampshire Republican who has championed the fight against NATO expansion.

Officials of President Bill Clinton's administration say they are confident they have the votes to win approval of the expansion, but they acknowledge there is always some tightening up as a final vote approaches.

"There's been no softening — in fact, we've been strengthening the vote," said one senior government official, who added that administration aides had "worked hard" over the recent two-week congressional recess to coax and cajole fence-sitters.

But the loose coalition seems to have picked up steam after the NATO debate, and a final vote was postponed until after the recess by Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the majority leader, who supports enlarging the alliance.

A variety of groups had been waging individual campaigns against NATO expansion for nearly a year and recently sought strength in numbers with a co-

ordinated effort. "There was a convergence of concern," said Mark Sommer, director of the Mainstream Media Project, an educational organization in California that helped produce the hour-long radio call-in programs.

Liberals and many business leaders, including Mr. Cohen, voice concern about the costs of NATO expansion — estimated at as much as \$125 billion over 10 years, depending on various assumptions — and about antagonizing Russia.

"Ben's belief is that NATO's expansion will soak up billions of taxpayers' dollars that could be better spent on our domestic agenda, such as edu-

cation," said Gary Ferdman, executive director of Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities, an educational and lobbying organization that raised \$150,000 for the television and newspaper ads. Mr. Cohen is president of the organization.

The newspaper ad warns: "Let's take NATO and expand it toward Russia's very borders. We'll assure the Russians we come in peace."

The ad continues: "It's the same feeling of peace and security Americans would have if Russia were in a military alliance with Canada and Mexico, armed to the teeth and excluding the United States. We'd all sleep better then, right?"

## Supreme Court Rejects Appeal By Publisher of 'Hit Man' Book

By Joan Biskupic  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court has allowed the publisher of a "murder manual" that was used to help carry out a grisly triple homicide to be sued for civil damages.

The case was brought by relatives of the victims — a Silver Spring, Maryland, woman, her quadriplegic son and his nurse — who were murdered five years ago by a contract killer who meticulously followed the manual's instructions.

In their ruling Monday, the justices refused to interfere with an unprecedented ruling last year by an appeals court that said Paladin Enterprises could be held financially responsible for "aiding and abetting" the killer in carrying out the murders with the help of a manual called "Hit Man" that he had purchased from a mail-order catalogue.

The 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals had said that because the book specifically encouraged murder and went beyond "abstract advocacy," it was not covered by the First Amendment.

The case has been closely watched by free-speech lawyers who feared that, if the dispute were allowed to go forward, newspapers, book publishers, movie producers and others could be held responsible for crimes said to have been inspired by their works.

Several movies, including Oliver Stone's "Natural Born Killers," and many bomb-making manuals, have been targeted in other court cases in recent years. At the same time, legislation is pending in Congress to stop the distribution of bomb-making instructions, particularly on the Internet.

Paladin's lawyer, Lee Levine, said Monday that the order could hurt publishers nationwide. "We thought it should be a sufficiently clear matter of First Amendment law that a publisher cannot be held liable for the acts of third parties" who read its books, he said.

But Rodney Smolla, representing the victims' relatives before the high court, said this was no ordinary book. "If it has the purpose of training others to commit murder," he said, "it has forfeited the protections of the First Amendment."

The relatives are seeking unspecified compensatory and punitive damages against Paladin.

A group of more than a dozen media companies, as well as the Horror Writers Association, had urged the justices to reverse the appeals court's ruling on free-speech protection for materials that could be used by criminals. The media consortium, which included The Washington Post Co., said the 4th Circuit ruling had opened all but the most benign kind of ideas to lawsuits.

The high court order Monday rejecting the publishers' appeal was made without comment. Because the Supreme Court turned away the case, it leaves the liability standard in place for the five-state 4th Circuit but sets, no national precedent. The order clears the way for a trial to begin against Paladin as early as this autumn.

The case stems from a triple murder that shocked the Washington area in 1993. The homicides were carried out by a hit man, James Perry, who had been hired by Lawrence Horn to kill his ex-wife, Mildred Horn, and son, Trevor, 8.

Mr. Horn wanted them dead so that he could inherit a \$1.7 million malpractice settlement resulting from a negligence lawsuit against the hospital where his son had suffered brain damage. Janice Saunders, an overnight nurse who cared for the boy, also was killed.

In criminal trials, Mr. Perry was sentenced to die for the murders, and Mr. Horn was sentenced to life in prison for masterminding the plot.

Relatives and estates of the victims then sued Paladin, based in Boulder, Colorado, because as Mr. Perry was plotting the crime, he bought the company's book, "Hit Man: A Technical Manual for Independent Contractors," by an anonymous author.

## Partisan Face-Off on Education

WASHINGTON — With a pep rally, news conferences and hours of well-rehearsed oratory, Senate Republicans and Democrats have squared off for a confrontation over education policy that appears headed for the campaign trail rather than the statute books.

"This is probably as defining an issue for us and for the Republicans as you're going to see for the rest of the year," the minority leader, Thomas Daschle of South Dakota, said in virtually the only point of agreement between the two parties as they vie for advantage on an issue that millions of Americans regard as their top priority.

The debate may be time-consuming and "messy," said the majority leader, Trent Lott of Mississippi, but "this is time we should take to discuss and debate how we can contribute to improvements in elementary and secondary education."

With votes expected late this week, Republicans are championing legislation, already passed by the House, to provide tax breaks for education-related expenses of children in private as well as public schools. Other proposals include one to convert most education aid programs into block grants to states. Lacking the votes to sustain a filibuster because of defections from their ranks, Democrats are pushing a dozen separate initiatives, including proposals to hire more teachers and repair old schools by subsidizing interest payments on school bonds.

Each party accuses the other of either nibbling at the edge of the nation's educational problems — from low test scores to overcrowded classrooms and danger-filled schoolyards — or pursuing ideological approaches that would exacerbate these problems. Behind the specifics is a more fundamental philosophical divide, with Republicans pushing to reduce the federal role in education and promote "choice" in schooling and Democrats seeking to preserve federal participation and focus it on popular causes.

Most if not all of the major Democratic proposals are likely to fail. While the Republican bill is certain to pass,

Democrats say they have the votes to sustain President Bill Clinton's veto — virtually eliminating any chance of a major education bill being enacted this year. (WP)

## Medicare Panel Gets a Warning

WASHINGTON — A new Medicare commission will have to decide what health coverage the nation can afford — and what it can't — for Baby Boomers in retirement, says Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

"Reality is invariably going to create a situation in which, granted the type of system we have, the demand for medical services is almost surely going to exceed the basic available supply," Mr. Greenspan told lawmakers and private-sector experts gathered for the second meeting of the National Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare.

"Political compromises are going to have to be made," he said, quipping at the end of his testimony. "I much prefer to be a witness than a member of the commission."

By March, the 17-member panel must recommend to Congress and the president some way to keep Medicare from collapsing. Taking into account the aging of the population alone, health care spending in the United States is expected to increase 20 percent over the next three decades. (AP)

## Quote/Unquote

Geraldine Ferraro, asked why she was making a second attempt to win the Democratic nomination to run against Senator Alfonse D'Amato of New York: "Because I really want to have an impact on what's going on in our country in the next century. I really do. I have pictures of my grandchildren here, which I'd be happy to show you. I look at what's happening to them, I look at what's happening in our society, with the enormous difference between haves and have-nots. If we do not start investing now, by the time the have-nots are adults, it's going to be too late." (NYT)



Senator Phil Gramm, Republican of Texas, enumerating his points to Alan Greenspan at the bipartisan Medicare commission's hearing.

# Ex-Secret Service Agent Tells of Long Clinton-Lewinsky Meeting

By George Lardner Jr.  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A retired Secret Service officer, Lewis Fox, says that President Bill Clinton told him and a plainclothes agent on duty outside the Oval Office in the fall of 1995 to "close the door" after Monica Lewinsky walked in because "she'll be in here for a while."

In his fullest public account of what he saw that weekend day, Mr. Fox said that he had been expecting Ms. Lewinsky to show up because Mr. Clinton had told him about 10 minutes earlier that he was expecting a young aide from the White

House legislative affairs office. Mr. Fox said he assumed it would be Ms. Lewinsky and described her to the other agent.

"I said she's got dark black hair and I made hand signals indicating a curvaceous figure," Mr. Fox said. "It was known she'd been around the Oval Office a lot."

Ms. Lewinsky had not emerged when Mr. Fox's shift ended about 40 minutes later. He said Monday that he was sure no one else entered the president's office during that period because all the doors were locked and their alarms set.

A veteran of the Secret Service's uniformed branch, Mr. Fox said he gave these details and

more in testimony Feb. 17 before the grand jury investigating the Lewinsky matter. The retired officer's account was first published in this week's editions of U.S. News & World Report.

Mr. Fox said he decided to speak out again now because "I'm trying to get all this washed away." He said his credibility had been questioned by White House "spin doctors" and he wanted to reaffirm his account.

Mr. Fox's account could strengthen the hand of the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, in seeking Secret Service testimony from other officers and agents. After weeks of inconclusive talks, Mr. Starr recently filed a sealed motion to compel their

testimony despite the Justice Department's assertion of a new and untested privilege to shield Secret Service members from disclosing certain matters important to the protection of the president.

Mr. Starr has been trying to find out what Secret Service officers and agents might have seen or heard as part of his investigation of whether Mr. Clinton had a sexual relationship with Ms. Lewinsky and tried to cover it up.

Mr. Fox said he was on weekend duty, filling in for Gary Byrne, the regular Secret Service officer at the post, when Ms. Lewinsky showed up.

Mr. Byrne also has reportedly been subpoenaed by Mr. Starr to testify.

## White House Won't Lift Ban On Needle-Exchange Funds

By Sheryl Gay Stolberg  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — After a bitter internal debate, the Clinton administration has declined to lift a ban imposed nine years ago on federal funding for programs to distribute clean needles to drug addicts, even as the government's top scientists certified that such programs do not encourage drug abuse and can save lives by reducing the spread of AIDS.

The decision, announced by Donna Shalala, the secretary of health and human services, was denounced by public health experts and advocates for people with AIDS, who had been told in recent days that the ban was about to be lifted.

"At best this is hypocrisy," said Dr. Scott Hitt, chairman of the President's Advisory Council on HIV and AIDS. "At worst, it's a lie. And no matter what, it's immoral."

The decision came after a week of negotiations between Ms. Shalala's staff and the White House, according to two administration officials familiar with the talks. Ms. Shalala had been pressing to rescind the ban, with some restrictions, and was prepared to defend that decision on Capitol Hill, knowing it was bound to be controversial.

But the president's policy advisers feared that Republicans might push through legislation that would strip federal money from organizations that provide free needles, even though the money was used for other purposes.

## Abortion Foes Convicted of Extortion

By Jon Jeter  
Washington Post Service

CHICAGO — A jury has found that leading anti-abortion groups violated federal racketeering laws initially designed to prosecute mobsters by directing protesters to use extortion and threats of violence in attempts to shut down two abortion clinics.

The verdict followed seven weeks of testimony in a class-action lawsuit filed on behalf of two women's health clinics in Milwaukee and Wilmington, Delaware.

The jury's decision, announced Monday, opens the door for similar claims by the nearly 1,000 facilities that provide abortion services nationwide.

Calling the decision "a major victory for women's rights," the National Organization for Women, which initiated the lawsuit 12 years ago, said it would "win a permanent injunction against the defendants' blockades, extortion and other use of force or violence at clinics."

Judge David Coar of U.S. District Court scheduled a hearing for Wednesday to discuss the order.

Jurors ordered the defendants to pay nearly \$86,000 to the two clinics to cover expenses they incurred in providing additional security precautions. A federal judge can order that award tripled under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act.

The case marked the first time that the civil provisions of the anti-racketeering statute, devised in 1970 as a weapon against organized crime, had been used in a class-action lawsuit against the anti-abortion movement.

Plaintiffs in the suit alleged that three prominent organizers in the anti-abortion movement — Joseph Scheidler, Andrew Scholberg and Timothy Murphy of the Chicago-based Pro-Life Action League — had directed activists involved in that

group and in another anti-abortion organization, Operation Rescue, to use threats and acts of intimidation and extortion in their efforts to shut down clinics providing abortion services.

Jurors found that the defendants had engineered a nationwide conspiracy that involved 21 acts of extortion, mostly the formation of barricades that prevented the use of medical clinics.

Lawyers for the defendants said they would appeal.

## Away From Politics

• Terry Nichols has rejected an offer of leniency in exchange for information about the Oklahoma City bombing, saying it would put him in legal jeopardy if he is tried in Oklahoma. He was convicted in Denver of conspiracy in the attack. (AP)

• A 13-year-old boy who bragged to the police that his nickname was "Mr. Pimp" was sentenced to two months in juvenile detention and ordered to seek counseling for trying to arrange sex for hire among his classmates in Reston, Virginia. (AP)

• A privately run juvenile prison lost its license because of violations that included physical abuse of inmates and female staffers having sex with boys, Colorado state officials said. (AP)

• A 79-year-old resident of a home for the mentally disabled in Gainesville, Florida, died from burns he suffered when he was lowered into a whirlpool of 130-degree water during his regular bath. (AP)

## KAZAKHSTAN INVESTMENT SUMMIT

Almaty, June 4-5, 1998

If you are interested in Kazakhstan's wide array of investment opportunities, the International Herald Tribune's Kazakhstan Investment Summit will give you valuable insights and an inside edge.

H.E. President Nursultan Nazarbayev will give a keynote address at the Summit.

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EUROPE

# Keeping a Potential Disaster at Bay

## U.S. and Britain Move Nuclear Materials Out of Caucasus Region

By Michael R. Gordon  
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — The United States and Britain have begun a secretive operation to remove nuclear material from the volatile Caucasus nation of Georgia, Western officials say.

The supply of highly-enriched uranium and spent nuclear fuel is stored at a research reactor outside the Georgian capital of Tbilisi. It has been a serious concern for American officials, who feared it could fall into the hands of Chechen gangs, Iran, or another aspiring nuclear power.

The classified operation to remove the nuclear material, which is code-named Auburn Endeavor, also shows that the United States is now prepared to operate in former Soviet republics such as Georgia.

When the Clinton administration proposed removing the material two years ago, it hoped to enlist Russian help and make the operation a model of American-Russian cooperation. But after the Russians failed to make good on promises to accept the material, the United States went ahead with the operation anyway, although Washington did decide to inform Moscow.

The British played a vital role by volunteering to accept the cache, after the administration declined to move it to the United States because of potential challenges from American environmentalists.

Prime Minister Tony Blair approved the plan to store the nuclear material in Britain, reaffirming this to Mr. Clinton when he visited Washington in early February. British officials told their American counterparts that London considered the operation important enough to make an exception to its regulations against accepting foreign nuclear material.

The Americans also asked the French to take the material, but were rebuffed. American military and civilian personnel are now in Tbilisi packing up the supply, which includes 8.8 pounds (4 kilograms) of highly-enriched uranium and 1.76 pounds of highly radioactive spent fuel.

This week, U.S. Air Force transports will fly the nuclear cargo to Britain. It will then be taken to the Dounreay nuclear complex, in Scotland, which has the ability to reprocess spent fuel, removing the waste so the uranium can be reused. Estimates vary about how much material is required to make a nuclear bomb. They depend on the skills of the bomb maker and the size of the explosive.

American officials say the material in Tbilisi, while substantial, would not be enough for a bomb. But private experts say that a skilled bomb maker could use it to make a weapon with a yield equivalent to 1,000 tons of TNT. Virtually all experts, including the Georgians, believe that the nuclear material would be more secure if it was removed from the Caucasus.

The recent arrival of U.S. military transport aircraft in Tbilisi has sparked reports in the Georgian press that the long-stalled effort to remove the nuclear material appears to be under way.

The Tbilisi reactor's vulnerability has fed growing concern in the West and in Georgia about how to protect the region's supply of nuclear weapons and the nuclear materials in the laboratories, power plants, and institutes spread through the former Soviet Union.

The United States and Russia have publicly embraced the goal of protection. But the Georgian case shows how diplomatic and bureaucratic impediments in the United States and Russia can slow the effort.

Georgia, which enjoys good ties with the West, has never had an interest in keeping the supply or beginning a program to develop nuclear weapons.

"Indeed, we have several kilograms of uranium," President Eduard Shevardnadze of Georgia said in a 1996 interview. "We need to get rid of it. But we can't do it independently."

The origins of the Tbilisi material go back to the days of Soviet power, when Moscow devoted huge sums to its nuclear complex. The research reactor was built outside Tbilisi in 1959 for Georgia's Institute of Physics.

After the 1986 Chernobyl disaster, the reactor was shut down because of safety concerns. That pleased environmentalists, but it left Georgia with a problem: what to do with the plant's nuclear material. The reactor used highly-enriched uranium as fuel, which is a valuable component in making nuclear weapons.

Georgia took some steps on its own to reduce its supply of highly-enriched uranium. It sent a small amount to Uzbekistan, which has a similar reactor. But that still left Georgia with a small supply of enriched uranium, as well as a smaller amount of spent fuel that could be refined into weapons-grade ingredients.

Over the years, Georgian officials say they have had many sleepless nights over the nuclear material. According to Georgian officials, the greatest danger occurred during the Georgian civil war in the early 1990s, when the Tbilisi reactor was virtually unprotected.

Georgian physicists were afraid that a paramilitary group might discover the supply and try to steal it. But the roving gangs apparently did not know of the supply or were simply content to steal cars from the reactor's parking lot.

In January 1996, the United States began to get into the act. Specialists at the U.S. Energy Department sent the White House a classified letter, proposing that Washington work out an arrangement with the Georgians to take the material back to America.

There was a precedent for this type of operation. In 1994, the United States carried out a similar operation in Kazakhstan. Under "Operation Sapphire" more than a half-ton of bomb-grade uranium was transported to the nuclear complex at Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

But the State Department was wary about starting an operation in the Russians' backyard without consulting Moscow. Other Clinton administration officials were afraid that taking the small amount of nuclear waste could rile environmentalists in the United States and result in legal challenges.

The once urgent operation was put on a slow track, as the United States sought to persuade the Russians to take the supply.

Confidential discussions were conducted in 1996 when Vice President Al Gore and other senior American officials met with the prime minister at that time, Viktor Chernomyrdin, and his top aides.

In early 1997, Russia's minister of atomic energy, Viktor Mikhailov, publicly promised to take the supply by March 1997. But the three-way negotiations between the United States, the Russians, and the Georgians remained stymied.

One sticking point was what to do with the spent fuel. The Tbilisi reactor has only 1.76 pounds of spent fuel, which is highly reactive and stored in a cooling pond at the weather-beaten nuclear complex.

Georgia was unsuccessful in finding a nation to take this nuclear waste. During the Soviet era, Georgia shipped its spent fuel to the Russian nuclear complex at Chelyabinsk in the Ural Mountains.

But that arrangement came to an end after the breakup of the Soviet Union. The last trainload of spent fuel was shipped in March 1991.

The Russians have maintained that their laws prevent them from taking nuclear waste from foreign nations, even though Georgia is a former Soviet republic and its fuel was provided by the Soviet Union.



Mayor Recep Tayyip Erdogan speaking to journalists Tuesday. He said his lawyers would appeal the verdict.

# Pro-Islamic Mayor Sentenced in Turkey

## Court Gives Istanbul Politician 10-Month Term for 'Inciting Hatred'

By Kelly Couturier  
Washington Post Service

ANKARA — A state security court sentenced the mayor of Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, a prominent pro-Islamic politician, to 10 months in prison Tuesday for "inciting hatred" in a speech he delivered last year.

Mr. Erdogan, who is widely expected to become the next leader of the country's sizable pro-Islamic political party, the Virtue Party, was sentenced for a speech in which he recited the following words from a folk poem to a crowd in the southeastern town of Siirt last December: "The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets and the faithful our soldiers."

The ruling against Mr. Erdogan by the Diyarbakir State Security Court comes amid a military-led crackdown against the pro-Islamic movement in which several pro-Islamic mayors have been sentenced to prison terms, religious education centers have been closed and secular dress codes have been enforced.

The popular pro-Islamic Welfare Party was banned in January for anti-secular activities, following the collapse under military pressure last July of the government it led.

Necmettin Erbakan, the Welfare Party leader and former prime minister, was banned from politics for five years. Most of the Welfare Party members have now regrouped in the Virtue Party, over which Mr. Erbakan still exercises great control, but which some say Mr. Erdogan is set to take over.

Neither the Welfare Party nor its successor Virtue Party have used violence, but in the case last year against the Welfare Party, prosecutors pointed to several incendiary speeches by its members as evidence of the party's anti-secular nature.

Mr. Erdogan, who said he would appeal the ruling, had denied the charges of provocation, saying he had merely cited a poem in the speech.

If Mr. Erdogan's sentence is upheld by the court of appeals, he will be forced to step down as mayor and will not be allowed to run for re-election.

The announcement of the mayor's sentencing followed overnight police raids in several cities and the arrests of 20 businessmen suspected in laundering money for radical Islamic groups or illegally transferring funds to them.

**Rights Campaigner Faces Jail**  
Turkey's top human rights campaigner, facing several legal charges, denied at his latest trial Tuesday that he had aided Kurdish rebels, Reuters reported from Ankara.

"I do not accept the charges against me and want my acquittal," Akin Birdal, chairman of the Human Rights Association, told a court. "I believe defending human rights is not a crime, but a duty," he said.

Mr. Birdal is charged with encouraging guerrillas by making a speech in Rome last year in which he urged a peaceful end to the 13-year-old Kurdish conflict.

He faces several criminal charges related to his criticism of Turkey's human rights performance and the treatment of its Kurdish minority. He faces up to seven years in jail in the latest case alone.

BRIEFLY

### Investigator in Diana Crash To Question Witnesses as Group

PARIS — The French judge leading the investigation into the fatal car crash involving Diana, Princess of Wales, has decided to hold a group questioning session of about 20 people present at the crash scene immediately after the accident.

Sources close to the investigation said the mass questioning, seen as a signal that the French investigation was nearing an end, was tentatively set for June 5.

The technique, known as "confrontation" in the French justice system, is intended to compel witnesses with different accounts of an event to confront one another and argue for their point of view.

Among those summoned to take part in the group session by Herve Stephan, the investigating magistrate, were the nine photographers and a photo-agency motorcycle driver found at the scene by the police after the Aug. 31 crash. Also summoned was a bodyguard, Trevor Rees Jones, the only occupant of Diana's car to have survived the crash.

After seven and a half months of investigation, French officials say they still believe that excessive speed and alcohol were to blame for the crash. (Reuters)

### Clinton Visit to Ulster 'Possible'

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton is still considering a trip to Northern Ireland in May to campaign for a peace accord despite opposition by some political leaders there, the White House said Tuesday.

"We are continuing to hold open that possibility," said Mike McCurry, the White House spokesman.

A trip by Mr. Clinton to Belfast would come just days before a referendum on May 22 in Northern Ireland and Ireland on whether to accept a U.S.-brokered peace agreement reached between the Northern Ireland parties on April 10.

David Trimble, leader of the biggest pro-British party in Northern Ireland, the Ulster Unionist Party, has said Mr. Clinton should not visit before the referendum. Many unionists fear such a trip could undermine efforts to secure approval for the pact. (Reuters)

### Complaints to EU Rise 40%

BRUSSELS — Citizen complaints against European Union institutions rose 40 percent in 1997, the EU's chief watchdog said Tuesday.

In 1995, when Jacob Soderman of Finland became the Union's ombudsman, there were 298 complaints. In 1996, there were 842. Last year, 1,181 people brought their grievances to him, according to his latest report.

Of those 1,181 cases, Mr. Soderman's small team began investigating 200, the ombudsman said. Of those, 16 were settled without the ombudsman's help. In 21 cases the ombudsman found the complaint justified and a "critical remark was given" to the accused. (AP)

### For the Record

Concerned about anti-American terrorist attacks in Greece, the U.S. defense secretary, William Cohen, stopped here Tuesday for security talks that will also focus on arms sales. Tensions over Cyprus, Greek relations with Turkey and Kosovo were also likely to be discussed in Mr. Cohen's talks with the Greek defense minister, Apostolos Tsahatzopoulos, a senior U.S. official said. (AFP)

# Doctors Don't Agree On Surgery for Havel

Agence France-Press

INNISBRUCK, Austria, — A Czech doctor attending the ailing Czech president said Tuesday that Vaclav Havel was to have a tracheotomy, or throat puncture, but the Austrian clinic team intervened later to deny that the operation was necessary.

Mr. Havel's personal anesthetist, Dr. Bohumil Limbert had said the president would undergo the surgery to help him breathe. Mr. Havel, 61, a former chain smoker, lost one-third of a lung to cancer in 1996.

The tracheotomy would have been Mr. Havel's fourth operation in just over a week.

But disagreement appeared to have arisen between the Czech physician and the Austrian specialists at the clinic to which Mr. Havel was rushed last Wednesday for a ruptured colon. The head of the clinic, Helmut Maderbacher, said Tuesday evening, "There is no reason for a tracheotomy."

Mr. Havel underwent surgery Monday night to remove an abscess from his abdominal lining.

An afternoon bulletin Tuesday described Mr. Havel's state as satisfactory. Earlier, Mr. Havel's spokesman, Martin Kraft, said in Prague that the president was in "serious condition."

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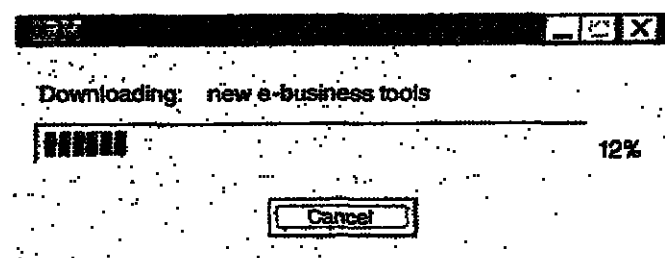
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ASIA/PACIFIC

# All Quiet in Financially Ailing Japan, but Some Expect a Reckoning

By Sandra Sugawara  
Washington Post Service

**TOKYO** — Life in Japan is fraying at the edges. After eight years of economic malaise, there is great fear about the future. People are stuffing money into safes because they do not trust banks or the government. Workers stay in jobs after being forced to accept pay cuts because there is nowhere else for them to go.

But on the streets of Tokyo these days, it is hard to sense an economy in crisis. Homeless are few. Unemployment is low. There is little, if any, social unrest. This outward quiet, specialists say, is a product of the Japanese economic system, which has succeeded, year after year, in doing what it was designed to do — protect jobs, maintain economic stability and allow Japan to muddle through without making dramatic policy changes.

Thus, although unemployment is creeping up, hitting a record 3.6 percent in February, its level is still far below that of other industrialized nations. Likewise, Japan's 17,439 corporate

bankruptcies last year were the decade's high, but still less than a third of the 54,027 in the robust U.S. economy. In January alone, 3,323 corporations filed for bankruptcy in South Korea.

"One of the interesting things about the Japanese economic problem is that it hasn't produced a really big crisis," Stanley Fischer, deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund, said during a recent visit to Tokyo. "I think that's why it's so hard to deal with. Politically it's easier to deal with a serious, evident crisis than with a lingering malaise."

But many economists here believe that such a crisis is unfolding behind the scenes, and that it will eventually force the demise of Japan's state-directed capitalism.

"This very comfortable system that protects workers and households is going to unravel," said Andrew Shipley, an economist at Schroders PLC, an investment bank, "and then we could start seeing long unemployment lines, shops closing. It's going to start feeling a lot worse here."

Under Japan's state capitalism, banks are ex-

pected to funnel money to their main customers or to targeted industries. Those companies, in turn, are expected to support their weaker brethren. Layoffs are generally taboo.

But now the core companies are in dire trouble. Banks are drowning in bad debts. They can no longer shovel cash at money-losing companies. Meanwhile, economists estimate, companies are burdened with 6.4 trillion yen employees they do not need — about 10 percent of the work force.

"You have a situation now where the corporate sector is providing a massive safety net," said Russell Jones, an economist at Lehman Brothers Japan Inc. Robert Alan Feldman, an economist at Morgan Stanley Japan Ltd., said there was no panic because "things are not yet bad enough for labor customs to fall apart."

"The custom here is you keep people on the payroll," he said. "You may pay everyone 30 percent less, but you don't fire them."

"In Japanese society, the identity of an individual is defined by the group they belong to. To cut somebody off by firing them is to ba-

sically reduce them to being less than human. It's considered a very nasty thing to do, and companies don't want to do that."

But the question is: How much longer can companies, worried about global competition and about cleaning up their balance sheets because of a credit crunch, continue to do that?

Not long, many economists have concluded. They say the package of tax cuts and public works spending proposed by Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto may once again delay the pain, if the \$75 billion is injected quickly into the economy. But the economy could easily begin plummeting as soon as the bulk of the money is spent, because Japan has not addressed the core issues causing its malaise.

For instance, Mr. Shipley said, the government has made no effort to erect a system of unemployment benefits, which would make it easier for companies to lay off workers and restructure. There has been no effort to push the kind of rapid deregulation that would cause bankruptcies of the weaker companies and allow

the stronger ones to surge ahead.

Foreign and Japanese economists contend that change is inevitable. They say the authorities have lost the use of two important tools to prop up corporate Japan.

One was cheaper money. In the past, the Bank of Japan provided a boost to companies by lowering interest rates. That cut their costs of borrowing and helped them squeeze out a profit. But interest rates are already at rock bottom.

The other tool was exports. Japan Inc. could always depend on exports for growth. But with demand collapsing in Asia, which accounts for 40 percent of Japan's export market, there is little chance Japan will be able to turn on the spigot of export growth.

More troubling to economists is that Japan's third major tool — government spending — may be restricted in the future. "The problem is, the Japanese government has spent hundreds of billions of dollars over the last few years attempting to kick-start the economy," Mr. Shipley said. "And they haven't been successful."

## Workers Join The Students At Protests In Indonesia

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**JAKARTA** — Protests against President Suharto and his government widened Tuesday as workers and professionals joined students in demonstrations across Indonesia, witnesses said.

About 5,000 people held a protest rally in the Gadjah Mada University in the ancient capital of Yogyakarta demanding that Mr. Suharto step down, the witnesses said. Hundreds of workers joined the students in the protest, they said.

In Surabaya, Indonesia's second-largest city, lawyers, nurses and doctors joined thousands of students demonstrating at the local Institute of Technology, witnesses said.

About 5,000 students from four universities in Ujungpandang, South Sulawesi, rallied on campus before converging on the local Parliament, according to Kompas, a daily newspaper. They then marched to the city's main square under tight police guard, the paper said, in defiance of a government ban on demonstrations outside campuses.

The students demanded the disbanding of the cabinet, appointed by Mr. Suharto in March, saying ministers had failed to address the situation. They then marched to a nearby square for a free-speech forum before dispersing peacefully.

In Medan, North Sumatra, about 3,000 students from Muhammadiyah University held a rally to demand the repeal of two government decrees dating back to 1978 and 1990 that they say curtail student freedoms. They also demanded that some ministers be fired, the daily reported. About 10,000 students gathered in Padang, West Sumatra, at the Teachers University, in rally featuring a prominent government critic, the Muslim leader Amien Rais.

Mr. Suharto, a former general who has ruled the country since the mid-1960s, gave security forces permission last week to use force against the students if they did not stop the demonstrations.

The government has held talks with student leaders in an effort to defuse the protests. But local leaders and political analysts say neither threats nor the appeasement is likely to work. The students appear to have reached a point of no return, and the protests seem likely to continue, they say. (Reuters, AFP)

### BRIEFLY



**IN HIS FATHER'S FOOTSTEPS?** — Ferdinand Marcos Jr., son of the late dictator Ferdinand E. Marcos, being greeted on Tuesday by supporters of his bid to win a seat in the Philippine Congress.

## Seoul Charges Security Chief

**SEOUL** — South Korean prosecutors indicted a former intelligence agency chief on Tuesday, charging him with masterminding a smear campaign against President Kim Dae Jung. Kwon Young Hae, former head of the National Security Planning Agency, was indicted on charges of violating election and security laws, and libel.

"Kwon was the seventh person to be indicted in connection with our investigation into the campaign," a prosecution official said. Mr. Kwon and six other intelligence officials are to stand trial in early May.

The charge was part of a drive by Mr. Kim, the former dissident who took office in February, to delve into policy failures and government malpractices under his predecessor as president, Kim Young Sam.

the island chain following a 1988 agreement, known as the Matignon accord, that ended unrest and violence by pledging a vote this year on self-determination. (AFP)

## Burma Junta Foe Gets 25 Years

**BANGKOK** — Burma's military government has jailed a prominent leader of the opposition National League for Democracy for 25 years, dissidents said Tuesday.

Daw San San, in her late 60s, was sentenced under Burma's Official Secrets Act after she was found to have taken part in a British Broadcasting Corp. interview critical of the ruling military regime, the exiled Aji Burma Students Democratic Front said in a statement.

A spokesman for the ruling State Peace and Development Council confirmed the sentencing but said it was unrelated to the interview. He said Daw San San had breached conditions under which she was released in 1992 from a previous 25-year sentence she was serving for treason. (Reuters)

## A France-New Caledonia Deal

**PARIS** — France struck a deal Tuesday with pro- and anti-independence forces in its South Pacific territory of New Caledonia that provides for a vote on greater self-determination late this year. Under the deal, the 200,000 inhabitants of the French archipelago will vote by the year's end on whether to give New Caledonia its own government with expanded powers. A referendum on independence from France is to be held within 15 to 20 years.

The agreement Tuesday followed two months of talks between the government, the separatist Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front and the pro-France Rally for Caledonia in the Republic. At stake was the future status of

## For the Record

The Philippines needs international food aid for 3.6 million people who are going hungry because of a drought in the southern island of Mindanao, the Red Cross said Tuesday as the death toll rose to 64. (AFP)

More than 110 Tamil rebels and army troops were killed in fierce battles in Sri Lanka as the Commonwealth pursued an attempt to restore peace, officials said. (AFP)

## Seoul, Tired of Asking Japan, To Pay 'Comfort Women' Itself

By Stephanie Strom  
New York Times Service

**TOKYO** — The South Korean government said Tuesday that it would drop its efforts to win compensation from the Japanese government for South Korean women forced into brothels to serve the Japanese military during World War II.

Instead, the government itself will pay each of the 152 registered "comfort women" who comes forward 31.5 million won, about \$22,760, which will be supplemented by 6.5 million won apiece raised by victims' rights organizations, for a total of nearly \$27,500.

At a cabinet meeting, President Kim Dae Jung vowed that Seoul would continue to seek an apology from Japan, which reluctantly acknowledged in 1992 that Japanese military officials were involved in setting up the brothels but has refused to offer compensation to the women.

"This does not mean the abandonment of demanding from Japan an apology and acceptance of its historical and moral responsibilities," a spokesman for

Mr. Kim said. "The government will not interfere with continued demands by the former comfort women and nongovernmental organizations for compensation from the Japanese government."

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Seoul demanded that Japan apologize for its wartime atrocities.

"We reiterated that a true future-oriented and mutually beneficial relationship between Korea and Japan can be achieved only if Japan recognizes past history and remorsefully reflects on its deeds," it said in a statement.

South Korea had been expected to approve the compensation plan last week, but Mr. Kim postponed the decision in order to seek the approval of groups representing the women.

Yang Mi Kang, a spokeswoman for the Korea Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery in Japan, said Tuesday the group was pleased that the government would give the women, many of whom are in their 70s and 80s, a means of support, but added that the group would not give up its demands for compensation from Tokyo.

## JAPAN: Pending Election Protects Leader

Continued from Page 1

who would bring little vigor or imagination to the office.

Seiji Tsutsumi, owner of the Seibu Department stores and one of Japan's most powerful businessmen, called Monday for Mr. Hashimoto to resign for economic mismanagement.

Mr. Hashimoto and the Liberal Democrats continue to move slowly and deliberately. The prime minister and party chiefs are spending much of this week locked in backroom bargaining sessions thrashing out details of a \$75 billion public spending spree aimed at making just about every sector of society a bit less gloomy.

According to party officials and Japanese media reports, Mr. Hashimoto is likely to include a \$13 billion proposal to build a national fiber-optic "information superhighway" that will connect 40,000 schools to the Internet and provide a personal computer for every primary-school pupil in Japan.

Mr. Hashimoto also plans to spend billions more on research-and-development facilities at Japanese universities and companies — including money for studies about the falling sperm count of Japanese men. With 11 percent of the national work force employed in the powerful construction industry, the

party is expected to bow to the intense lobbying by the industry for more roads, park and other traditional public works projects.

The prime minister, who already has announced \$30 billion in income tax cuts to give families more pocket money, is counting on the stimulus package to appeal to everyone from schoolteachers to construction-workers to couples trying to have babies.

In the end the Liberal Democrats have always had the cash and the clout to deliver. That is why since 1955 the party has been the largely unchallenged political force, able to exert pressure and squeeze out votes all the way down to Nagasaki's factory floor.

But the party is still rebuilding itself after voters shocked the political establishment in 1993 and briefly removed it from power after 38 years of one-party rule. Although the Liberal Democrats have regained a majority in the lower house of Parliament, they control only 118 seats in the 252-seat upper house. A big victory in July would be a major milestone in the party's return to power.

The July elections are a main reason why the Liberal Democratic Party is sticking with Mr. Hashimoto. The legacy of the 1993 defeat has been bitter factionalism that has led to nasty infighting and rivalry in the party, and the party has not wanted to risk a bloody public leadership struggle that would be fresh in voters' minds.

## Wang Hopes to Go Home After Check-Up, He Says China Is in His 'Heart'

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**DETROIT** — Wang Dan, a leader of the pro-democracy protest around Tiananmen Square in 1989, thanked doctors and began making plans for his new life in exile after he was released from a hospital Tuesday, but he expressed hope that he would be allowed to return to China.

"I'm free now, but I don't feel relaxed," said Mr. Wang, who was found to be in good health by doctors at Henry Ford Hospital. "China is in my heart. I hope that I can go back to my country soon."

The 29-year-old dissident, who was released from prison on medical parole Sunday, plans to keep pressing for democracy in China and to continue his studies, which were interrupted by two terms in Chinese jails.

After Mr. Wang was released from the hospital, he got into a van that took him to the airport for a flight to the New York City area, where he is scheduled to speak publicly for the first time Thursday at the New York Academy of Science.

Doctors prescribed medication to help clear up his persistent cough, fitted him with soft contact lenses and ruled out serious illnesses.

"We certainly have found him to be in stable and good condition, and in relatively good health," said Dr. Thomas Rorer, the hospital's chief medical officer.

Because Mr. Wang complained of headaches and occasional dizziness, the hospital performed a magnetic resonance imaging test.

The results of the tests allowed doctors to rule out a brain tumor and other serious problems.

"He was tired, and I think that probably had to do with the trip," Dr. Rorer said.

After the tests Monday morning, Mr.

Wang rested and talked with friends who traveled to Detroit to see him, doctors said. He spoke with his parents in Beijing on Sunday.

Mr. Wang was sentenced to 11 years in prison in 1996 on charges of conspiracy to subvert the state for his writings about democracy and the failings of Communist rule and for his contacts with exiled dissidents. He was previously imprisoned from 1989 to 1993.

"Wang Dan is very excited and eager to start his new life in exile," said Xiao Qiang, executive director of Human Rights in China, who has visited Mr. Wang here.

He wants to continue to advocate for China's democracy, but his main task in the United States "will be to resume his studies," Mr. Xiao said.

On Tuesday, Beijing warned Mr. Wang against any return to China and denied that there had been any deal with Washington to secure his release into exile in the United States.

In the government's first official comment following Mr. Wang's release, the Foreign Ministry left no doubt that the hero of the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations would be put back in prison if he returned before his 11-year sentence elapsed in 2006.

"Before he went abroad, he had not finished his prison term," said Zhu Bangzao, a government spokesman.

"So if he wants to stop the period of medical treatment abroad and apply to return to China, our judicial departments will handle this case according to the relevant laws and regulations, and he is well aware of this point," the official added.

But the spokesman stopped short of saying Mr. Wang would also be barred from Hong Kong, saying that would have to be decided by the territory's government. (NYT, Reuters, AFP)

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## INTERNATIONAL

## In Niger, a Thirst for Water - Not for Democracy

By Joseph R. Gregory  
New York Times Service

ZINDER, Niger — When the troops garrisoned here mutinied recently, the sultan of Zinder advised his people to stay home and to avoid the soldiers roaming the streets and firing in the air.

It was, after all, a quarrel between the troops and politicians in the capital, Niamey, 720 kilometers (450 miles) away.

Since it did not concern our people, it did not concern us," said the sultan, Elhadji Aboubacar Sanda Amadou, the 22d of his line, which has ruled Zinder since 1736 and remains a local authority in a region whose 800,000 people scratch out a living in the shrinking savannah that separates the greener lands of southern Africa from the Sahara.

Besides, life in this drought-prone nation of 10 million people has become increasingly difficult because of a larger, more distant quarrel, this one between Niamey and Washington. Relations have deteriorated badly since January 1996, when Niger's first elected president was ousted in a coup that ended a brief experiment with democracy. Because of the coup, the United States and other donor nations have ended or drastically reduced aid to Niger, whose government budget depends heavily upon foreign aid.

"Some of my people have to walk 5 to 10 miles to get water," the sultan said. "To somebody with such a problem, democracy will not mean anything."

Indeed, democracy seems light years away from Zinder, a sprawling city of mud buildings whose low skyline fades into an overcast of dust hovering in the Sahara's persistent wind.

In this seventh year of near drought, the streets are filled with beggars from parched villages, many of them malnourished children.

Suppliants of many kinds waited outside the sultan's palace, built in 1850 and shielded from the dusty streets by high mud walls. Passing through the gates, a visitor was greeted by a dozen courtiers and an escort of the sultan's bodyguard.

They led the way through a maze of hallways and courtyards to a rectangular conference room furnished with 46 stuffed armchairs. A television set in the corner was broadcasting French cartoons when the sultan entered, resplendent in cape and turban and carrying the silver staff that is his badge of office.

A tall, open-faced man of 47 who was chosen 20 years ago to succeed his father from a pool of more than 30 brothers and cousins, the sultan describes himself as an intermediary with the central government. He intercedes when his people have problems with soldiers, mediates when they quarrel over water rights, tries to resolve marriage difficulties and sometimes determines which peasant gets a cow.

He is also the region's main tax collector, a difficult task because few people have money in a country where annual per capita income is about \$250, and because, he said, the politicians do not honor their responsibilities.

"The government is supposed to pay for the palace electricity and telephone and water, but they don't pay," he said, speaking in a mixture of French and local languages. "We have to take it out of our pocket. If we didn't, we would be in darkness." There are 332 people in his household, he said, including his 4 wives and 21 children.



The sultan of Zinder and his bodyguards preparing to meet a Tuareg delegation in the palace courtyard.

Perhaps that is why he felt a certain sympathy for the mutineers, although he deplored their methods. The soldiers in Zinder and other cities had not been paid for four months, and for 10 days they refused to obey orders. Then, when promised two months' back pay, they returned to duty.

Members of the opposition Front for the Restoration and Defense of Democracy set fire to a police station and the regional party headquarters of the ruling Council of National Salvation in Zinder on Sunday, Reuters reported Monday. The news agency said that the government of President Ibrahim Bare Mainassara arrested three regional opposition leaders. It said the Niger Association for the Defense of Human Rights denounced the violence and called for an inquiry.

"People don't understand democracy here," the sultan said. "They think it simply means disobedience to the authorities."

Such talk exasperates people like Mamane Abou, a newspaper publisher who has had several run-ins with the government.

"The sultan's ideas are false and lies," he said. "What Niger needs is for human rights to be respected."

Mr. Abou said he strongly supported Washington's decision to end aid to Niger's central government.

Before the coup, annual U.S. development aid to Niger was about \$20 million; now it is under \$2 million and that is to be eliminated by the end of the year. The cuts have had widespread reverberations for the 10 million people in Niger, one of the world's poorest countries, where one in three children dies before the age of 5 and the average life expectancy is 44.

The United States has already cut aid for programs in family planning, forestry protection, agricultural training, small credit assistance, and other projects.

The sultan, who says his role is to defend tradition, calls Washington's decision to the aid to the advance of democracy unfortunate.

"If democracy does come," he said, "it will not change my role."

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What remains particularly imprecise is the intersection of the bank's policy-making prerogatives with the political will of the member countries. Each member state has a seat on the bank's governing council, but its members are specifically prohibited from soliciting or accepting instructions from governments or EU institutions. That would seem to reinforce the bank's autonomy, but it does not take into account the role of the Euro-X council, the so-called "informal" political discussion group that came into existence in December.

Under France's reading, this council, made up of the 11 EU countries participating in the common currency, is in larval form the first stage of the "economic government" pushed by the French Socialist government as a political counterweight to the bank's independent status. For the Germany of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats, the council has no broad political assignment or powers.

How Euro-X's function could evolve if the Social Democrats took power in Bonn in September, or if either of the current candidates became president of the new bank, is part of the unresolved and draining political struggle surrounding the bank.

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## CUBA: U.S. Snubbed on Rights Resolution

Continued from Page 1

Losing the resolution was "a stunning blunder by the administration" and "an embarrassment for the United Nations," Mr. Thiessen said. He added that it showed "hypocrisy" on the part of Latin American leaders who in Santiago had voiced their support for greater human rights protections in the hemisphere.

Several countries on the UN commission that abstained in the vote last year voted against the U.S.-proposed resolution, which condemned "numerous violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms." The countries included Russia, Pakistan and some African nations.

Uruguay and Chile, which voted in favor last year, abstained this time. Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela also abstained.

The 16 members in favor included Argentina, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the United States.

The U.S. delegation leader in Geneva, Nancy Rubin, refused to comment on the vote.

Human-rights spokesmen in the United States deplored the vote Tuesday, saying it sent a signal that the main UN panel dealing with human rights "remains a political body."

"It's unfortunate," said Curt Goering, deputy executive director of Amnesty International USA, "because Castro continues to defy the aspirations on human rights of his own people and the international community. His hand needs to be kept to the fire. The human rights problems in Cuba are serious and sustained."

The vote by the 53-member panel will end the mandate of the commission's special investigator into human rights on Cuba.

Carl-Johan Groth, the independent UN rapporteur on Cuba since 1992, said in a report last month that the Cuban government continued a policy of often brutal repression of its domestic critics.

But Mr. Groth placed some blame on the U.S. embargo on Cuba installed 40 years ago, which he said had contributed to bitter hardships for civilians.

Wayne Smith, who was the official U.S. representative to Havana from 1979 to 1982, said the commission's vote was "quite clearly a defeat for the United States and a slap at U.S. policy." He attributed it to "growing irritation and disenchantment on the part of the rest of the international community with our Cuba policy."

Mr. Smith, who visits Cuba frequently, said the vote might help those in the administration who have quietly chafed at that policy, which is built around isolating Cuba and seeking to punish those who engage with the island state.

"There are those in the administration," Mr. Smith said, "who realize it has painted itself into a corner and probably would like to get out."

The UN vote appeared to vindicate Mr. Castro's politically risky decision to invite the Pope for a historic visit in January, a move some analysts have called a "master stroke" by the Cuban leader.

"I thought the Pope's visit was a watershed," said Robert White, president of the Center for International Policy, in Washington. "He and Castro traded subtle barbs throughout the visit, but the one thing they agreed on was that the U.S. embargo was unethical."

The U.S. delegation said in a statement read before the Geneva vote that it welcomed Cuba's release of almost 100 political prisoners, but that it was worried by the exile of some and the continued detention of hundreds of others.

Following a clemency appeal from Pope John Paul II, Cuba freed 90 political detainees and more than 200 other prisoners in February, the largest such releases by Havana in years.

Some exile groups in Florida have maintained, however, that the numbers of new arrests have been close to those of prisoners freed.

## GLOBAL: Trade Issues Rivet the Midwest

Continued from Page 1

nomics interests point in the opposite direction. Mr. Hagel demonstrated this recently in reiterating his strong opposition to the global warming treaty negotiated last year in Kyoto, Japan, saying it favored developing countries at the expense of the U.S. economy.

But the region's world outlook extends beyond trade to varying degrees of support for the United Nations and other instruments of internationalism, with repercussions for Congress, the Republican Party and even presidential politics.

Little more than a year after coming to the Senate, Mr. Hagel, with help from two Midwestern Republican first-termers, Pat Roberts of Kansas and Rod Grams of Minnesota, led the successful fight in the Senate for \$18 billion to replenish IMF reserves depleted by the Asian rescue operations.

For him, it was the opening shot in a broader struggle over the direction of the Republican Party and its choice of a presidential nominee. "A lot of us don't want an isolationist leading us into the 21st century and into defeat in the process," he says.

Mr. Hagel is not alone as a "global villager" on the Great Plains. Even as Mr. Hagel was readying his tour of southern Nebraska, Mr. Roberts was unleashing an anti-isolationist broadside before the Kansas Press Association.

"Not since the 1930s, when Congress passed the neutrality acts just as the world was going up in flames, not since the Smoot-Hawley tariff helped create the Great Depression, has Congress been so insular and isolationist in its view of the world," Mr. Roberts said. "Not since the 19th century has an administration been so lacking in foreign-policy focus, purpose and constructive agenda. Not in our lifetime has the American public been so uninterested and uninformed about world events."

Mr. Roberts took aim at lawmakers, including House Republicans, who want to hold the IMF bill hostage for action on issues such as abortion. Not that these issues are not important, he said, but "we will not build successful foreign or trade policy by making the rest of the world conform to our way of life and our views of how we want things to be."

A glance at Nebraska's numbers helps explain this new surge of internationalism from the Midwest, including its love affair with the IMF, distaste for economic sanctions and reluctance to tie foreign policy to domestic political causes.

Nebraska exports, most of which are agricultural or farm-related, have risen nearly fivefold over the past 10 years, totaling just short of \$2.5 billion last year. Farm exports to Asia alone increased by nearly one-third from 1993 to 1996, according to figures compiled by Mr. Hagel's office. As of 1996, Nebraska farm exports to Asia amounted to \$1.6 billion, including \$1.1 billion to Japan.

But late last year the tremors from Asia began to ripple through Farm Belt states, showing up in canceled or reduced orders and slower payments. The real fear is what may lie ahead: surpluses, lower prices for Nebraska commodities, and loss of jobs, profitability and the state's prosperity.

For Nebraska, the ability of Asia to buy its agriculture-related products is now a domestic political imperative.

"The real answer is to bring up the standard of living in the whole world so they can buy our products," said James Thom, a vice president of T-L Irrigation, which builds steel irrigation systems and sells nearly 20 percent of them to 25 foreign countries, some of them in Asia.

searched until days after that. On Friday, he opted to stay in jail rather than seek release on bail. As hundreds of angry black demonstrators converged on his bail hearing, he apparently decided he was safer where he was.

Mr. Steyn's lawyer could not be reached for comment; neither could his parents, who also lived on the farm. A news report said the parents have moved away for their safety.

Violet Dlamini is perhaps too grief-stricken to display anger. Indeed, she seemed numb as her Zulu words were translated into English. As she described the day of the shooting, it was as if the events were burned into her brain.

They heard the shots. They heard the screams of 11-year-old Vusi. Angelina's brother, who had been walking with Francisca. The family ran to the tall grass. Blood was everywhere. Francisca moaned on the ground. They grabbed the girls and rushed to the home of Mr. Steyn's parents. Mr. Steyn ran with them. He attempted mouth-to-mouth resuscitation on the baby. They rushed in a Steyn family car to a nearby ambulance station, from which the children were whisked away.

Mr. Steyn was in tears the day after the shooting, she said, adding, "I think there was some kind of regret."

Mr. Steyn, 42, was not arrested until the day after the shooting, and his house was not

## KILLING: South Africa Shaken by a Reminder of the Apartheid Era

Continued from Page 1

she would be "remembered by your family and the nation."

Under white-minority rule, which ended in 1994, brutality against blacks was commonplace, especially against black tenant laborers in white-dominated rural areas. The apartheid system of racial separation left black farm workers at the mercy of white employers, locked into a situation of dependency often marked by brutality.

But even then, victims as young as these were the exception. The killing of Angelina and the critical wounding of Francisca have dominated headlines and radio talk shows across a shocked nation. That such an incident could happen after four years of democracy and a sustained attempt by the new government to foster racial tolerance and reconciliation "has struck a chord because it appears stereotypical of the most brutal pre-1994 racism," the newspaper Business Day declared in an editorial last week.

At the extremes of this anger are some blacks who know the racial injustices of rural life and who want revenge. There also is more measured grief and sympathy for the bereaved

family, much of it cross-racial. And there are whites who have told reporters that Mr. Steyn, as a farmer in fear of being victimized by rural outlaws, was justified in what he did.

The killing occurred against the backdrop of conservative white anger over rising violent crime in farm areas. Some say the killings and burglaries are an effort to punish whites in general; others say they are revenge against specific whites for abuse treatment of blacks.

So, instead of sympathy, some conservative whites voiced anger that President Nelson Mandela came here last week and expressed condolences to Angelina's family, when he has not done so, they said, for any white farmers slain in the past four years; in fact, he had.

But race is not the issue, Mr. Mandela responded, saying: "The killing of a 6-month-old child, no matter what racial group he or she might belong to, is evil and barbaric."

It is not just the death that has shaken people, but what followed. Violet Dlamini, 29, Angelina's mother, was not told that his hospital her baby had been taken. When the children were rushed off by ambulance, "that was the last time I saw them," she said Sunday.

Mr. Steyn, 42, was not arrested until the day after the shooting, and his house was not

searched until days after that. On Friday, he opted to stay in jail rather than seek release on bail. As hundreds of angry black demonstrators converged on his bail hearing, he apparently decided he was safer where he was.

Mr. Steyn's lawyer could not be reached for comment; neither could his parents, who also lived on the farm. A news report said the parents have moved away for their safety.

Violet Dlamini is perhaps too grief-stricken to display anger. Indeed, she seemed numb as her Zulu words were translated into English. As she described the day of the shooting, it was as if the events were burned into her brain.

They heard the shots. They heard the screams of 11-year-old Vusi. Angelina's brother, who had been walking with Francisca. The family ran to the tall grass. Blood was everywhere. Francisca moaned on the ground. They grabbed the girls and rushed to the home of Mr. Steyn's parents. Mr. Steyn ran with them. He attempted mouth-to-mouth resuscitation on the baby. They rushed in a Steyn family car to a nearby ambulance station, from which the children were whisked away.

Mr. Steyn was in tears the day after the shooting, she said, adding, "I think there was some kind of regret."

Mr. Steyn, 42, was not arrested until the day after the shooting, and his house was not

## BANK: Duisenberg-Trichet Rivalry for Post Brings Out Hidden French-German Disputes

Continued from Page 1

signifies that they have surrendered a key element of sovereignty through the single currency without loosening German control over the European economy.

This was the essential presumption in France's willingness to accept European monetary unification. In the French view, if Germany's man is at the head for the next eight years of a European central bank located in Frankfurt, then Paris will be deprived of what it believed the euro would bring it in terms of parity with Bonn in European decision-making.

The dispute appears to be beyond the point where there are happy solutions. Designed to serve a grand undertaking as its symbol of non-partisan probity, the bank's presidency is emerging instead as damaged goods.

If the job goes to Mr. Duisenberg, he will have been privately characterized by the French as a ventriloquist's dummy for the Bundesbank. If the choice is Mr. Trichet, he will have been made out by other European partners to be an agent of France's unwillingness to set the central bank into an orbit free of perpetual political influence.

Should there be a compromise candidate — bargaining on the post could run beyond the May 2 target date to July 1 — he would be someone that none of the other European Union members rated highly enough to nominate when Mr. Duisenberg first received wide backing more than a year ago.

Whatever the final decision, the circumstances of the selection of the president can mean that he will have

diminished authority to deal with the other side of the central bank's problems with politicization.

As much as the new bank appears to have already suffered from too much politics, the question of its political accountability once in operation is not clear either. Looking at the central bank from a largely favorable standpoint, William McDonough, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, has suggested it has an organizational fault, saying, "At some time the European central bank will need political oversight."

Only this month, the European Parliament, hardly a locus of power in European decision-making, got around to passing a resolution that said the bank's "unprecedented independence" ought to be accompanied "by a high level of democratic control" of its activities. This was after the legislators pulled back from a motion that sought the power to censure the bank's directors and create a banking oversight committee like that of the U.S. Senate.

The motion they approved asks instead that the Maastricht treaty be modified to require the bank's president to make quarterly instead of yearly reports, publish minutes of its council meetings and disclose its money-supply and price-stability targets. Both Mr. Duisenberg and Mr. Trichet have indicated they oppose such measures, and Yves-Thibault de Silguy, the European commissioner in charge of the single currency, has described such disclosure policy as a Pandora's box.

Currently, the bank's deliberations on European monetary and interest rate policy are to remain entirely

confidential. According to its statutes, its principal objective is to "maintain price stability"; unlike the Federal Reserve Bank, the bank does not have the specific task of enhancing economic growth. The central bank will not have control over exchange-rate policy, which is the province of the European Union's Ecofin council, made up of the member countries' finance ministers.

What remains particularly imprecise is the intersection of the bank's policy-making prerogatives with the political will of the member countries. Each member state has a seat on the bank's governing council, but its members are specifically prohibited from soliciting or accepting instructions from governments or EU institutions. That would seem to reinforce the bank's autonomy, but it does not take into account the role of the Euro-X council, the so-called "informal" political discussion group that came into existence in December.

Under France's reading, this council, made up of the 11 EU countries participating in the common currency, is in larval form the first stage of the "economic government" pushed by the French Socialist government as a political counterweight to the bank's independent status. For the Germany of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats, the council has no broad political assignment or powers.

How Euro-X's function could evolve if the Social Democrats took power in Bonn in September, or if either of the current candidates became president of the new bank, is part of the unresolved and draining political struggle surrounding the bank.

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## EDITORIALS/OPINION

## Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

## Deciphering China

## Something Is Stirring

Nine years after it crushed the Tiananmen Square democracy movement, China's leadership seems ever so slightly to be loosening its stranglehold on political dissent. It is too soon to know whether the new openness will last, or grow, but something is stirring in China that bears encouragement and close monitoring by the United States.

On Sunday, Wang Dan, the most prominent leader of the Tiananmen movement still in prison, was released for medical treatment in the United States. That comes after last November's medical release of China's senior democracy campaigner, Wei Jingsheng, and signals a somewhat more humane attitude toward those who have challenged Communist Party rule. Regrettably, Mr. Wang and Mr. Wei had to accept exile from China as a condition of their release.

Perhaps more significant is the increased latitude tentatively allowed for people to campaign in China for limited democratic reforms. Since January a number of newspapers and journals have printed lively exchanges on subjects like expanding individual rights, extending village elections and shrinking the reach of the government and the Communist Party.

Since a party congress last year con-

firmed President Jiang Zemin's position as China's most powerful leader, he has seemed more willing to depart from earlier orthodoxies. Li Peng, who ordered the Tiananmen massacre, remains the No. 2 leader, but his new position as speaker of Congress gives him a less direct role in enforcing conformity. The most dramatic change has been the designation of Zhu Rongji, a strong economic reformer, as prime minister. His program does not include political liberalization but does call for the party and government to step back from direct control of economic life.

The new openness remains limited and could easily be reversed. Beijing still harshly punishes any advocacy of independent labor unions at a time when labor unrest over economic issues and working conditions is increasing. Washington should continue to press for the release of political prisoners not yet benefiting from the new climate.

Twice in recent decades, in 1978 and 1989, China seemed to edge warily toward greater democracy only to be thrown back by a new wave of repression. This time, continued modernization of China's economy may prove a powerful incentive for political reform. That is certainly something the world would cheer, and a development that Bill Clinton should encourage as he prepares to visit China in June.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## But Arrests Continue

It was front-page news on Monday that China had sent the well-known dissident Wang Dan into American exile, just as it was last November when the democracy advocate Wei Jingsheng was taken from prison and put on a jet to Detroit. But a steady flow of arrests did not make the front pages around America or even a mention in most newspapers.

There was the arrest in January of Li Qingxi, an unemployed former health worker who had urged colleagues to form independent unions. Shen Li-ang, a former prosecutor, was sentenced to two years of "re-education through labor" this month, apparently because he criticized the selection of former Prime Minister Li Peng to head China's Parliament. Yang Qinheng and Father Lu Genyao are not household names in the West, either. The former was sentenced in March to three years at hard labor, apparently for speaking on Radio Free Asia in favor of free unions; the latter, a Catholic priest, was reportedly arrested on April 5 while preparing to say Mass.

Wang Dan's release was part of a delicate unspoken deal between the Clinton and Jiang administrations. Bill Clinton dropped America's customary sponsorship of a resolution on China's human rights abuses at an annual UN conference. President Jiang sent Wang Dan into exile. Now the way is clear for Mr. Clinton's visit to China in June —

the first by a U.S. president since the Tiananmen massacre in 1989.

Wang Dan was a student leader of the peaceful protest that preceded that crackdown, and as a result was jailed until 1993. Like Mr. Wei, he had the almost unimaginable courage to resume his pro-democracy activities immediately after his release, despite the near certainty that China's Communist regime would jail him again. It did, and he has spent the past three years in jail.

So there can be only joy that he is free, albeit in forced exile. Yet there is a danger, as China bargains with its dissidents one by one, of losing sight of the thousands who remain in jail or labor camps, and of those added to the prison population week after week.

China's regime is implementing economic reforms that have greatly increased many people's freedom to move, choose their own jobs and travel. But, despite a few signs of liberalization, freedoms of expression, association and belief remain tightly constricted — a potentially destabilizing combination.

As Wang Dan wrote in 1995, before his second arrest, China could minimize the danger of social and worker unrest by giving the public "a chance to express its dissatisfaction through democratic channels." But that would carry a different risk — to the survival of China's Communist regime. That is why the regime still is doing what it can to make sure Mr. Wang's message will not be heard in his homeland.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Pilots Need Warning

Last week Vice President Al Gore invoked three fatal airplane crashes, in Colombia, Guam and Bosnia, to reacquaint the American public with a danger known as "controlled flight into terrain." This refers to flying an aircraft into a mountain or other natural obstacle, like the ocean, because the pilot has lost his sense of the plane's relation to its surroundings. It has been a major cause of accidents in America and abroad.

The risks can be cut dramatically, but only if airlines invest more in pilot training and hasten installation of the latest terrain-avoidance warning system in cockpits.

Major U.S. airlines and some of their West European counterparts are voluntarily outfitting their fleets with advanced warning systems. Regional airlines and smaller operators are likely to need a nudge.

That is why Mr. Gore championed the Federal Aviation Administration's plan to require any aircraft with turbine engines and six seats or more to be equipped with advanced terrain-avoidance equipment by 2000 for new planes and 2003 for existing ones. These computer-enhanced devices display the terrain ahead and alert pilots when they are coming dangerously close to a collision or about to undershoot or overshoot a runway.

Similar proposals should be pressed abroad. Air travel is global, and foreign carriers and international airspace need to be made safer, too.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Other Comment

## Social Security Countdown

Social Security has been a huge success in America. It provides benefits to 44 million people who are elderly, disabled or survivors of deceased workers. More than three-fifths of the elderly derive the majority of their income from Social Security.

Social Security also provides families of active workers with a form of life insurance worth more than \$12 trillion — more than all private life insurance currently in force.

But the system has to change. The number of beneficiaries will double in the next four decades while the number of workers who pay the taxes that support the system will grow by only 17 percent. Although the program's receipts now exceed its expenditures by more than \$100 billion a year, the revenue will cover only 70 to 75 percent of promised benefits after 2029.

—Henry J. Aaron and Robert D. Reischauer, commenting in *The Washington Post*.

## Yes, Politics Is Words, and Expert Politics Heals

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

WASHINGTON — As the negotiations over the Northern Ireland peace agreement neared a climax, Tony Blair offered a thought that seemed a politician's idea. "The trouble with this situation is that words matter, every word matters," he said.

Politics is dismissed by those who dislike it as nothing but words, words signifying whatever politicians decide they do. This seems especially true for politicians like Mr. Blair or Bill Clinton who are good with words and, when necessary, at keeping things vague.

But Mr. Blair was right. Words matter because politics matters. The peace agreement in Northern Ireland reminds us that politics is an art which, properly practiced, provides an alternative to bloodshed. Politics can create formulas that allow people to break with past failures and move beyond seemingly insoluble problems.

When someone accomplishes something good, the tendency is to write off

the achievement as inevitable. The Irish agreement is seen as the product of forces that rendered the Protestant-Catholic conflict obsolete. The conflict may be obsolete, but the agreement was by no means inevitable.

It is true that the vast improvement of the economic situation in Ireland makes partnership between North and South more attractive, or at least less repellent, to Protestants. It is also true that Ireland, although still the West's most religious country, has secularized. And the existence of the European Union, combined with a global economy, has created a Europe in which regions can matter more than nation-states.

But large forces do not create history. People working with them do. That is where politicians come in. It took ingenious politicians to find a compromise to ease anxieties. The

North will remain part of Britain for the foreseeable future, but the deal would create new all-Irish institutions to promote cooperation between North and South. Catholics can see such institutions as a united Ireland in embryo, even if the gestation period may be long.

That formula has been around for years. Political skills brought it to life. This is where George Mitchell, the former U.S. Senate majority leader, came in. When he got involved, he was dismissed by some as a mere politician. The point was that he is a politician, a skilled practitioner of the arts of persuasion and confidence-building.

"There has been so much hatred here that people start out with a presumption that the other guy is acting in bad faith," Mr. Mitchell said. "There's no trust, so they want every detail spelled out in black and white on the page." Those words again.

The man who tried so hard to get President Clinton's health bill through

Congress learned something from the struggle. And yes, Mr. Clinton, Mr. Blair, Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern and the key Northern Irish players are all quintessential politicians, too.

It has long been asserted that the vast majority in the North, Protestant and Catholic, wants peace. But this has been a disempowered majority. Next month's referendum on the agreement will test whether the peaceable majority exists and, if it does, transfer power to its ranks. That will be the greatest achievement of all.

The historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. argued some years ago that, at its best, democratic politics is about "the search for remedy." The Irish settlement is a triumph for the politics of remedy.

It was said famously that war is politics by other means. The corollary is that politics is the only alternative to violence. We should honor the political craft far more than we do.

Washington Post Writers Group

## Will Senators Stop and Think About NATO Expansion?

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — With their heads presumably cleared by two weeks at home, U.S. senators have returned to the issue of NATO expansion. They tried but failed to focus on it in March. This time they vow to see it through to a vote. Let us hope that they have their thinking caps on.

Before they went out for Easter, Senator John Warner of Virginia, the Republicans' leading voice on national security issues, told me he could count no more than 15 other senators who shared his doubts about adding Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to the alliance.

Only if it appears that the potential opposition may approach the 34 votes needed to block this questionable action will Bill Clinton feel compelled to give the American people a clear explanation of the course to which he is committing this nation, something that he has conspicuously failed to do so far.

Charles Krauthammer, whose typically contains much good sense, tried last week to fill in for

President Clinton by providing a rationale for expanding NATO more compelling than what he called the "pabulum" and "rubbish" offered by administration spokesmen.

Cutting through State Department boilerplate about "extending the borders of peace," Mr. Krauthammer said NATO was "expanding in the service of its historic and continuing mission: containing Russia."

"It says to the world, and particularly to the Russians, that the future of Central Europe is settled," Mr. Krauthammer wrote. "The no-man's-land is no more. Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are now securely part of the American-allied West. Finis. And if any Russians entertain other ideas, they can forget about it."

You have to admire that like-it-or-lump-it logic. But Mr. Krauthammer leaves one big question unanswered: If it is smart to move NATO's front line eastward, why not do a real

job of containment and sign up all the countries in Russia's neighborhood?

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright might like the idea. Soon after the first three recruits were invited last year, she said: "We must pledge that the first new members will not be the last, and that no European democracy will be excluded because of where it sits on the map."

Five other countries have been promised early consideration: Romania, Slovenia, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Slovakia will not be far behind. And why not Ukraine and other former Soviet republics struggling for democracy? That would be containment with a capital C.

Only two problems. Pull out a map and ask yourself how the United States and its allies would guarantee these new NATO members that an attack on their territory from any source would be dealt with ex-

actly as if it were an attack on Paris, London or Chicago.

That pledge has made NATO the most successful military alliance of this century. It should not be given lightly, especially if you agree that Russia may no longer be Communist but is still a major power that inevitably will seek to dominate its region.

None of the current NATO countries envisages sending its ground troops to fight on this vastly enlarged frontier. The security guarantee will have to be underwritten by America's nuclear force — a prospect that assuredly will motivate Russia to maintain its own nuclear weapons, rather than join America in scaling them down.

More broadly, a policy of aggressive containment will inevitably be seen by Russians as threatening. Boris Yeltsin has gone along, grudgingly accepting a Clinton policy that effectively bars Russia from NATO membership but creates a fig leaf NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council which, Mrs. Albright promises, "gives Russia

no opportunity to dilute, delay or block NATO decisions." In his current weakness, Mr. Yeltsin has no alternative.

But Susan Eisenhower, granddaughter of the former president and a student of Russian foreign policy, has documented scores of statements by leading Russian figures, both democrats and hard-liners, expressing anger at NATO expansion. Even a moderate like Grigori Yavlinsky has declared, "It is absurd to believe in NATO's peaceful intentions."

Jack Matlock, the former U.S. ambassador to Moscow, says: "There is no question that our decision to take on new members now, when no country in Eastern Europe faces a security threat from the outside, will greatly complicate our efforts to see to it that the vast stocks of nuclear weapons now in Russia are never used against us or our allies."

Think, senators, think. And force President Clinton to address these issues.

The Washington Post

## Netanyahu Flies High, but It Better Not Go to His Head

By Thomas L. Friedman

WASHINGTON — Clinton administration officials insist that this time, for sure, no kidding, absolutely, positively, the Mideast peace process is entering its endgame. Either Yasser Arafat and Benjamin Netanyahu say "yes" to the U.S. compromise plan for tying up all the outstanding issues before final-status negotiations, or else.

The "or else" is that the Clintonites will make their compromise proposals public and then let the parties fend for themselves.

And since it is Mr. Netan-

yahu who has been resisting the U.S. plan — for a roughly 13 percent phased Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank in return for phased Palestinian fulfillment of security and political commitments — the threat is directed primarily at him.

Alas, Mr. Netanyahu does not seem to be quaking in his boots. Give him his due. For all his fumbling, he understands power. He can smell weakness. And for now he clearly detects an imbalance of power in his favor.

which is why he keeps calling the Clinton team's bluff.

He detects that the U.S. defeat of the Soviet Union and Iraq has left the Arab states with no military option. They can huff and puff, but none of them will bring any military weight to bear on behalf of the Palestinians. Both the Arab and the Palestinian middle classes have, for the moment, opted out of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

He detects that with gasoline at \$1 a gallon (26 cents a

liter) in the United States and American oil companies diversified outside the Middle East, the Arab oil lobby in Washington today is dead. So now when the Israel lobby calls senators, like Connie Mack and Joe Lieberman, and tells them to jump, the only question they ask is: How high?

Sensators Mack and Lieberman sponsored a Senate letter effectively demanding that Bill Clinton abandon America's balanced mediator role in Arab-Israeli negotiations — which produced the 1973 disengagement accords, Camp David and the Madrid breakthrough — and instead use America's weight to pressure Mr. Arafat to accept whatever Mr. Netanyahu offers.

Mr. Netanyahu detects that Mr. Clinton and Al Gore have no stomach for any politically explosive showdown with him. He detects that the president's national security adviser, Sandy Berger, is more willing to bring domestic political calculations into U.S. foreign policy than any previous NSC adviser.

And he detects that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, although she got off to an excellent start in the Middle East, has lost her nerve — partly because she is always uncertain of how much Mr. Clinton will back her and partly because she has yet to articulate any coherent framework for U.S. foreign policy and the national interest, and therefore she has been unable to extract Arab-Israeli diplomacy from domestic U.S. politics.

The question is: What will Mr. Netanyahu do with this imbalance of power? He seems to think he has two options.

Option one is to use his leverage to cut a good deal, a better deal than the Labor Party ever could have got, a deal that whittles the Palestinian demands (for this second-phase withdrawal) down from 20 to 30 percent of the West Bank to 11 or 12 percent — but a deal that still leaves the Palestinians with enough gains to want to continue Oslo and cooperate with Israel on security. This option would cost him some support within his own rightist coalition, but would make him a hero nationally.

Option two is to assume that he can use the imbalance of power to cram whatever he wants down the Palestinians' throats — such as less than full sovereignty over less than half the West Bank. And if the Palestinians won't accept that, so this option assumes, he can live with the stalemate at no cost because the United States will not punish him, because the Arabs will never get their act together, and because Israel's Labor Party is too weak to mount any domestic challenge.

But there is a third option, one that Mr. Netanyahu may see. It is option two with a different ending — one in which everyone doesn't just bow to this imbalance of power.

In this option, the U.S.-Israeli relationship slowly erodes: the Arab cold war against Israel re-emerges; Israel gets re-isolated in the region and eventually exposed to a hot war with unconventional weapons; and the Palestinian middle class gets re-radicalized and starts killing again — first its own leaders and then Israelis.

Beware of option three.

The New York Times

## Discuss Biological Weapons

By Richard Preston

NEW YORK — For decades, the conventional view among American scientists was that biological weapons were not much of a problem. Meanwhile, powerful bio-weapons were developed and deployed by the Soviet Union and probably by other countries, and the knowledge of how to make them has spread.

Smallpox virus can be made in glass jars the size of wine bottles and released into the air with a humidifier. An FBI scientist says: "We're seeing a lot of hoaxes, and innocent people trying to make biological weapons. The incidents are happening at a rate of roughly one a month. My feeling is that sooner or later someone is going to get it right."

Having failed to come to grips with the problem, the scientific community and the government owe the public a makeup effort. It could start with a few simple measures.

The first step needs to be involvement of public health doctors in emergency planning. Public health surveillance needs to be strengthened. That would have an immediate payoff, since it would help control new and emerging "natural" diseases that are now taking lives in America. And if a bio-terrorist attack is recognized early, many lives can be saved.

Consider what might happen if a pound or two of dried anthrax were released into the air of New York City. Many thousands of people might be exposed, but only a small fraction of them would get sick and die. It would happen over time — time enough to save many people if some basic preparations have been made.

Anthrax incubates in the body for three days to several weeks after exposure. Then the first symptoms appear. Virtually no doctor in the

United States has seen a case of anthrax or knows how to diagnose it. The symptoms of anthrax resemble flu or cold; then the victim dies of what looks like pneumonia.

Many days might pass before it would finally become apparent that New York had been hit with anthrax. But where? And how much anthrax went into the air? The FBI would come under extraordinary pressure to find the perpetrator, who would be long gone, and the trail might have gone cold.

Everyone in the city would wonder if he had been exposed and whether another attack might occur. There would be an overwhelming demand for antibiotics, which can cure anthrax provided they are taken before symptoms appear. Antibiotics would disappear from the shelves instantly, and the demand would create a national shortage.

There is a good vaccine for anthrax: it can work even if given to a person who has already been exposed. The government would need to fly in many tons of antibiotics and vaccine. But there's no stockpile of antibiotics or anthrax vaccine. Such a stockpile might discourage a terrorist from using anthrax.

A Web site should be set up that any public health or primary care doctor could look at, offering basic information and training modules in anthrax and smallpox. (Wannabe terrorists are already using the Internet to spread information about bio-weapons; they are ahead of the public health doctors.)

A medical training module would cost around \$200,000 to set up — peanuts. It could make a big difference. Early detection of a bio-terror event

not only would save lives, it would enable law enforcement people to get on the trail of a terrorist faster.

Anthrax is not contagious and does not spread. Smallpox spreads like chain lightning. Since the entire human species now lacks immunity to smallpox (the shot wears off), it is the planet's most dangerous potential biological weapon.

If smallpox were released anywhere in America, experts believe that at least 20 million to 30 million people would need to be vaccinated quickly. Right now, there are only about 7 million usable doses of vaccine on hand.

Enough vaccine to protect the entire American population could be stored in a building smaller than a garage, and the vaccine would last for decades before it had to be replaced with fresh stocks.

That would pretty much remove smallpox from the arsenal of a terrorist. It would also take smallpox away from Saddam Hussein far more effectively (and cheaply) than bombing his laboratories.

One other step is needed. The community of biologists in the United States has maintained hand-wringing silence on the ethics of creating bio-weapons — a reluctance to talk about it with the public, even a disbelief that it is happening. Biological weapons are a disgrace to biology.

Top biologists should assert their leadership and speak out, taking responsibility on behalf of their profession for the existence of these weapons and the means of protecting the population against them, just as leading physicists did a generation ago when nuclear weapons came along.

The writer, author of "The Hot Zone" and "The Cobra Event," contributed this comment to *The New York Times*.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

## 1898: Nations at War

LONDON — The Times, in a leader, says: "The long suspense is now at an end, and Spain and the United States are at war, though without any formal declaration to that effect. How and where the first blow will be struck probably depends as much upon the chapter of accidents as upon the volition of either Power. There is no special responsibility attaching to the firing of the first shot, seeing that both nations are now clearly committed to the arbitrament of war."

## 1923: Italy's 'New Era'

ROME — All Italy, not excepting the unwilling Socialists, is celebrating its national holiday today [April 21], the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, and the festivities in the Eternal City have been particularly impressive. Signor Mussolini, the

Premier, marked the occasion with a new manifesto, which bears the date "Year One of the New Era," and in which he proclaims anew the unalterable determination of the "Shirts" to "accomplish their mission."

## 1948: Anti-Red Vote

ROME — More than half of Italy's new Assembly and more than half the elected members of the Senate will be members of the Christian Democratic party, it was announced tonight [April 21] on the basis of final returns. Some Italians, even among those who supported the Christian Democrats, seemed stunned today as they contemplated the results. Even the Christian Democrats admitted that a large part of their support came from persons who are not sympathetic with the whole Catholic program but merely wanted to strengthen Italy's strongest and Communist force.

## Herald Tribune

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OPINION/LETTERS

Disarray in Today's Smaller Russia

By William Pfaff

PARIS — The knockabout in Moscow between Boris Yeltsin and the Duma over the president's nomination of Sergei Kiriyenko as prime minister reflects an institutional disorder far from solution. The Duma is set up in a way that has given it an investment in irresponsibility. Irresponsible opposition is virtually the only power available to it. The Duma has deployed this power against Mr. Kiriyenko's nomination despite Mr. Yeltsin's threat to dissolve Parliament and call new elections, and his offers of apartments and dachas to compliant deputies.

The president has more power than is good for him or for the state, functioning as a latter-day czar. Behind his visible conflict with the Duma is the half-visible struggle among that handful of men who dominate the privatized economy, each with his favored politicians. Each with his own publishing or media group.

Even Scientology now is alleged to be part of the mixture, since not only is Mr. Kiriyenko accused of being linked to the sect — which he flatly denies — but credible Western European reports claim that the Scientologists are, amidst the general Russian economic disorder and moral disarray,

actively recruiting people in the high-technology and military-industrial sectors. If true, that gives one pause.

Something else that has yet really to influence how the Russians perceive their present situation is the great geographic and demographic change the country has undergone since 1989. The scale of the change is ill-appreciated in the West as well, which is inclined to take it for granted that because Russia is the former Soviet Union it is still the same country.

It is not. It may still be nearly twice the size of the United States, but it is a quarter smaller than the Soviet Union. Of its present territorial extent (some 17 million square kilometers, or 6.6 million square miles), less than 10 percent is arable.

It possesses less than 60 percent of the population of the Soviet Union. The United States' population of 264 million people is nearly 80 percent larger than the 148 million population of today's Russia.

There actually is an advantage for the Russians in this demographic change. In the Soviet Union only 55 percent of the people were ethnic Russians. In today's Russia that figure is 81.5 percent,

with less than 20 percent of the population belonging to 14 acknowledged minority nationalities. It has not been so homogeneous a country since the 18th century.

The present borders of Russia are by no means forever fixed, but while Belarus and even Ukraine, both Slavic countries, might in the future move back toward a

**Russians are not used to thinking of theirs as a country like other countries.**

closer link to Russia, most of the other new nations created out of the old Soviet Union are likely to want to maintain national independence.

An eventual linkage of many or most of them with Russia on lines something like those of the earlier European Community is imaginable.

But that is a prospect very distant from the vague Commonwealth of Independent States that now exists. The idea of an ambitious Russian drive to recover the territories of the old Soviet and Russian empires is, today, futuristic fantasy, or a worst-case war game exercise.

A multinational empire incorporating backward populations has, in any case, more disadvantages than advantages, even when natural resources are considered. Russia is rich in resources. Its problem is that, in the guise of privatization, the population has been swindled of its national resources and industry by the people who are now manipulating its politics.

Russians are unused to thinking of theirs as a country like other countries. They still possess the crucial military assets of superpower rank as well as the diplomatic ambition, as they demonstrated in the Iraq affair this year.

Their notion of a "European troika" composed of Russia, Germany and France — which seems to have Washington on edge — is a constructive move in this con-

text, since it reinvolves Russia with the West at a moment when Washington's tutelage of the new Russia has become irksome and NATO expansion positively annoying.

The "summit" meeting of this troika, held last month in Moscow, with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Jacques Chirac in attendance, accomplished very little in practical terms and was overshadowed by Mr. Yeltsin's dramatic, and as yet unachieved, remake of his government. But there will be another "European summit" next year in France.

The French naturally welcome any counterweight to the United States in world affairs, and while the present German government fears fraying its relations with the United States, there soon will be German elections and quite possibly a new government with a Social Democrat as chancellor.

There will also soon be a sharply changed European Union, when the single European currency comes into existence in January.

A formal Russian-German-French structure of consultation, which is all that it is (thus far), suits certain of the interests of all three countries. It particularly serves the Russian interest in being taken seriously again. It binds Russia to Western Europe at a moment when NATO expansion pushes it away from the West. So long as all remains unresolved in Moscow, this has to be a good thing.

*International Herald Tribune  
Los Angeles Times Syndicate*

Digging Thucydides in California

By Victor Davis Hanson

FRESNO, California — "Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians."

With those words a disgraced Athenian admiral matter of factly opens "The History of the Peloponnesian War," his monumental, though unfinished, narrative of the 27-year war (431-404 B.C.) between Athens and Sparta that left the Athenian empire and the entire culture of the Greek city-state in ruins.

Because he had lived through and participated in the events he described, Thucydides had an advantage over later historians, who have had to dig through unreliable records and consult secondary sources.

But even as he set down his record of contemporary events, Thucydides was eyeing posterity. His work, he boasted, was "not an essay to win applause of the moment, but a possession for all time."

If his contemporaries failed to appreciate his genius, perhaps people like ourselves would fathom it two and a half millennia in the future. And so we do. Studying how a seafaring, democratic Athens fought an insular oligarchy like Sparta teaches us a lot about current world crises and the fickleness of public opinion.

Thucydides knew nothing about peace studies, conflict resolution theory, God's will or the United Nations, but he could declare for all time that people go to war over "honor, fear and self-interest." Period.

Thousands of paperback translations of Thucydides are sold each year, bearing out his extraordinary boast. But if his book is timeless, it is also very difficult, and his disturbing ideas turn every modern bromide on its head. So why read him at all?

Yet people do, and in surprising

places. I teach classics at the California State University campus in Fresno, in the middle of an agricultural valley. There is no reason to think a book by an ancient Greek would interest my students. They are the children of farmworkers and the working poor. They are not privileged, nor well prepared

MEANWHILE

for college. Students here confuse Cleon, the Athenian demagogue, with a warrior race in "Star Trek."

At Stanford University, where I did graduate work, Thucydides was an entirely different historian from the one I have come to know in Fresno. The Thucydides of the graduate seminar is the subject of many pages of high-flown jargon in which, for example, Pericles's funeral oration is discussed as a dry rhetorical exercise that reflects subjective, not absolute, "truth."

I prefer the analysis offered by a Fresno State student.

"Sure, he might have lied a little," he said. "Who doesn't? And what do you expect? Thucydides with a tape recorder?"

Scholars and graduate students talk grandly of Thucydides "the realist" whose bleak assessment of human nature was a valuable antithesis to romanticism. But this remote, literary language takes us far from the actual Thucydides, a hard-eyed pragmatist whose judgments derive from firsthand experience.

As a working mother at Fresno put it, "Thucydides might like Carter better, but he'd want Reagan dealing with the Russians."

Students in Fresno savor Thucyd-

ides the disgraced admiral. They soak up the street fighting at Plataea, where the women and slaves "yelled from the houses and threw stones and tiles," and root for the blood-hungry Athenians at the slaughter near Delium, who in their fury "fell into confusion in surrounding the enemy and mistook and killed each other."

"I bet he killed a few himself to write like that," observed one student, tattooed and scarred, in a late-evening humanities class.

If we are to keep the ideas of Greece alive, we must first rekindle the Hellenic spirit, for the two are inseparable. That spirit, though it may already be lost in the Ivy League, thrives here among students working at Burger King and among night-school returnees, who, once hooked on Thucydides's blood and guts, then — but only then — begin to appreciate the power of his thought.

They welcome a tough guy like Thucydides who shows how their brutal experiences are universal, even banal, and thus explicable through abstract canons that exist "for all time."

In an age like ours in which setbacks and disappointments are dealt with through therapy rather than accepted as evidence of the tragic nature of our existence, Thucydides's honesty comes as a welcome touch of realism.

With him there is no "feeling your pain," no pretense of cheap compassion, and there are no easy apologies for what we are and what we have done.

Thucydides offers students of all races and classes the reassurance that we are all more alike than we think. And in so doing, he offers wisdom about the present, but relief from it as well.

*The writer, a professor of Greek at California State University's Fresno campus, contributed this column to The New York Times.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Spielberg Project

Regarding "Tough Questions for Spielberg Holocaust Project" (Features, April 14): The article takes some cheap shots at the efforts of Shoah Visual History Foundation and its work to record the testimonies of Holocaust survivors.

I am a volunteer interviewer for both the Shoah Foundation and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and have conducted more than 60 interviews.

The article made an important point: We are racing against time to record the testimonies. But we do not race through interviews. The pre-interview meetings alone take hours not to mention the hours of research and preparation.

I have never felt compelled to limit my interviews to two hours. The interview takes as long as the interview takes; it is not up to the foundation or me, it is up to the person giving testimony.

I do not measure an interview's success by the number of tapes, nor by the number of ears shed by the survivor.

I too great exception to the criticism of oral history. To be sure, oral history is different from lists of transcripts, numbers of people killed and so on. But the Holocaust happened to real people.

By focusing only on documents you miss the full dimension of the Holocaust. The people who suffered did not have paper and pencil with them to take detailed notes; they did not have calendars and watches handy. They have memories.

I do not take exception to the article's emphasis on the superiority of professional historians and interviewers. Nobody knows all the right questions to ask and there is no such thing as a perfect interview. Different professions will ask different questions.

I interviewed 1 work with the Washington area are highly educated, keenly interested in the subject and sincerely motivated to elicit a high-quality testimony because they want to record the human truths of the Holocaust. We are volunteers who do not get perks and presents, and we have no aspirations in Hollywood.

ESTHER T. FINDER, Rockville, Maryland.

was surprised and perplexed by the criticism of the Shoah Foundation. The interview was conducted with the utmost professionalism, sensitivity and integrity.

I am gratified by the thought that my children and grandchildren, and their children and grandchildren, will be able to learn about my Holocaust experiences long after I am unable to share my experiences with them personally.

Even Spielberg is to be commended for his commitment to recording and preserving the memory of this horrific period in human history.

ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN, New York.

The writer is the national director of the Anti-Defamation League.

Enough Already

Regarding "City-Country Metropolis' Fuel America's Growth" (Opinion, March 31) by David S. Broder:

So America is bigger, better, more innovative and more powerful than everybody else. Far out, as one used to say in my youth.

Some of us are beginning to get fed up with such triumphalism, however. The article states that Los Angeles-Long Beach is economically bigger than Taiwan, Switzerland, Belgium or Sweden. But where am I more likely to get shot? In Taiwan, Switzerland, Belgium or Sweden — or in Los Angeles?

NICOLAS DE TREY, Rueil-Malmaison, France.

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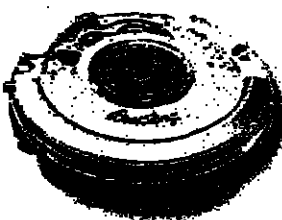
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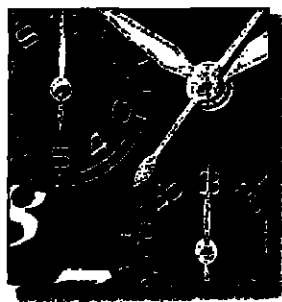
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INSTRUMENTS FOR PROFESSIONALS™



# Primo Levi's Journey Home: Imagining Life After Auschwitz

By Thane Rosenbaum  
New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — Take one Italian chemist; add the sulfurous poison pellets of Zyklon B, the stench of rotting, skeletal corpses and an entire periodic table of indifference; mix it all together in a flaming petri dish called Auschwitz, and you have a formula that could transform a man of science into a poet of atrocity.

That was the life of Primo Levi, who was best known for the classic literary account of his internment in a Nazi death camp, "Survival in Auschwitz," which was published in 1947. After being liberated from the camp, Levi had eventually returned to his home in Turin, where he became a conscience of the nation, an icon of the international human rights movement and the author of many books and essays. In 1987, at the age of 67, he killed himself.

Now, more than 50 years after Auschwitz and more than a decade after Levi's death, his journey home is the subject of a feature film, "The Truce," directed by Francesco Rosi of Italy and starring John Turturro as Levi.

The film, which opens in New York on Friday, is based on "The Reawakening" (the title of the book in Italian is "La Tregua," or "The Truce"), a 1963 sequel memoir that begins with Levi's liberation from the camp and tracks his circuitous return to Turin.

"Many films have been made about the Holocaust," said Rosi, who filmed "The Truce" in Ukraine, in English, with a supporting cast largely of Italians and Ukrainians, "but they are never about combining the tragedy with the vitality of a man's reawakening and the slow process of reclaiming his life."

Which perhaps explains why Rosi adapted "The Reawakening" rather than "Survival in Auschwitz."

The idea of taking the pages of a literary masterpiece, putting them onto celluloid frames and winding the visual result through a projector is, of course, nothing new. The novels of Jane Austen, Henry James and Edith Wharton have made this a dream decade for costume and set designers. But these were writers of fiction, and they weren't writing about Auschwitz, which is not a proper setting for Technicolor spectacle.

In "The Truce," the scenes of the



John Turturro in Francesco Rosi's "The Truce."

camp are brief, in flashback and in black and white, as if to underscore that Auschwitz stands apart — a place without tone or texture, a place where the usual moral vocabulary fails.

"I never considered making a film of 'Survival in Auschwitz,' because it can't be done," said Rosi, who also made "Illustrious Corpses" (1976), "Christ Stopped at Eboli" (1979) and "Three Brothers" (1981). "It would be a sacrilege. With 'The Truce,' the audience gets some sense of what happened, but through the filter of literature and with a story that a camera can show."

While "The Truce" may be a feel-good sequel to a horror film that cannot be made, the movie nevertheless seemed haunted in its own inception. It took Rosi five years to begin production, and the filming took 20 weeks. The weather never cooperated. The isolation and stark landscape of Ukraine were hard on the crew members, many of whom became homesick. The cinematographer, Pasquale de Santis, died before the film was finished.

"I'm not superstitious, but maybe this is what happens when you dig up things and fool around with ghosts," said Turturro, who lost more than 30 pounds in the interest of authenticity.

"When I first saw the camp," he

continued, referring to a recreation of Auschwitz in Ukraine, "I was wearing the striped uniform and the wooden clogs, and my legs went weak. I was very shaken. When you're behind the barbed wire, you feel the impossibility of understanding the experience because you know that you are ultimately free."

For both the director and the star, "The Truce" became a sort of obsession, a commitment to giving Levi's picturesque words a new artistic life.

"A week before his death, I spoke with him and asked if I could make a film of 'The Truce,'" Rosi said of Levi. "He told me that I brought light to him in a dark moment. 'The Truce' always reminded him of the joyousness of life, and how important it is to smile and to love. But to succeed with this film, both Levi and I realized that I was taking a risk, and he took it with me."

And what was that risk? "The film had to balance the grotesque with all that is beautiful about life," Rosi explained. "It also had to be respectful of the Holocaust and faithful to Levi's memoir."

To that end, Turturro occasionally speaks Levi's words in voice-over. He does so in dialogue, too, making statements like these: "We come from a place where one forgets passion"; "God cannot exist if Auschwitz exists"; "The worst thing that they did was to crush our souls, our capacity for compassion, filling the void with hatred, even toward each other."

Rosi's adaptation takes one controversial turn in a scene in which a train filled with survivors pulls into Munich and a German soldier, upon seeing Levi dressed in his camp uniform, kneels down in repentance. In the book, Levi is ignored.

"I felt the need to represent the accepting of responsibility by showing this gesture from a German," Rosi said. "I didn't mean it to look like a pardoning, or to alleviate German guilt, because nobody can do that. But I want to believe that at least one German would have made this kind of gesture."

Ironically, neither Rosi nor Turturro cared much for films about the Holocaust until they collaborated on "The Truce."

"I felt that these films were always filled with too much emotion, too his-

torical, too much being discharged in the performance," Turturro said. "Instead, I think they should implode. More like a documentary. That's why I've always been more interested in how the Holocaust happened, or what happened after."

The fact that "The Truce" takes place just after the Holocaust makes it not only watchable but also unusual, important and subject to interpretation beyond standard film criticism. The film begins with a scene of Russian soldiers on horseback, liberating Auschwitz. Levi and a group of survivors are now free, but to do what? Having lived through a time of unmediated madness, they must now put aside the regimen of survival and reacquire themselves with the pleasures and simpler pains of ordinary life. And they also have to find the strength to go home.

Although made by an Italian director, "The Truce" in many ways has the feel of an American road movie, featuring a

group of people on something of a mythical journey — not escaping home but headed toward it, yet ambivalent about what awaits them when they finally arrive.

**W**ITH the Holocaust as backdrop, however, home can't be found by following a straight line. Instead, for Levi and his fellow survivors, the journey is plagued by detour and indirection as they make their way through the villages and resettlement camps and along the abandoned train tracks of Central Europe.

"With Levi, it's not about his experience, but how he brings you along with him," Turturro said. "He's a great tour guide and a master of simple details. My job was to be as understated as possible and to let the audience observe a man who was himself an observer."

Unlike most Holocaust survivors,

however, Levi had something to go back to. His home was intact, and in the film his mother and sister are there to embrace him upon his return. This ending suits the overall mood of "The Truce," with its emphasis on Levi's re-entry into the world and the reawakening of his humanity. But no matter how well-intentioned "The Truce" is, many viewers will leave the film with a misleadingly romantic impression of what it meant to exit Auschwitz.

Most survivors remained in displaced-persons camps, with nowhere to go, and with no one waiting for them anywhere. Home, if it existed at all, was too emblematic of death. Most Germans gave no indication of being sorry. And Levi, of course, eventually killed himself, bringing into question whether he reconciled his survival with the horror of what he had witnessed — whether his return to the daily sensations of life ever did truly heal him.

## BOOKS

### THE ARGUMENT CULTURE

Moving From Debate to Dialogue

By Deborah Tannen. 348 pages. \$25. Random House

Reviewed by Larissa MacFarquhar

**O**NCE upon a time there were three little pigs and a wolf, and the four of them were engaged in a research project testing the relative merits of various building materials. Having implemented an experimental protocol that involved subjecting straw, wood and brick to extreme weather conditions, the pigs and the wolf concluded that brick was the most durable of the substances under review, and wrote up a joint report of their results. Such, at any rate, might be the account of the story given by the best-selling sociolinguist Deborah Tannen.

Author of the self-help conversation guides "That's Not What I Meant!" and "You Just Don't Understand," Tannen has spent her career showing how interactions that look like battles are often just misunderstandings between people pursuing a common goal. And while her optimism doesn't usually pose a mortal threat, as it might if adopted by little pigs, it does produce a rather bizarre misunderstanding of American public life.

Tannen's new book, "The Argument Culture," claims, as one might expect, that we argue too much. We have created, in Tannen's words, "a pervasive warlike atmosphere that makes us approach public dialogue, and just about any thing we need to accomplish, as if it were a

fight." Politicians trip up partisan opponents rather than cooperate for the good of the country. Lawyers engage in inane adversarial tactics, like sending documents on paper that smells so bad it makes people sick. Television producers recruit enraged zealots for shows where they yell at one another like lunatics instead of conversing maturely about their differences.

Sometimes this argument culture seems to result from malice, or a cynical effort to boost ratings; but often it's the product of a sincere conviction that the best way to get at truth is to stage a fight.

The trouble is that polarized debates, according to Tannen, leave us without the facts we need to make up our minds. More worrisome still, "continual reference to 'the other side' spawns 'a pervasive conviction that everything has another side — with the result that people begin to doubt the existence of any facts at all.' Sometimes, Tannen reminds us severely, "there is only one side: truth."

If only we had the facts in front of us and were prepared to be rational, in other words, we'd all recognize truth when we saw it. So while we argue too much, we seldom truly disagree.

That is also Tannen's message in "You Just Don't Understand": Men and women seem to speak different languages, but actually speak the same language; their conflicts are really just misunderstandings. This is where Tannen comes in with her techniques for translating between the sexes.

Tannen is the Michael Dukakis of emotional life: She's a relationship technocrat. In the context of a marriage, say,

it does seem plausible that a husband and wife may have common goals. But is this also true in public life?

Tannen assumes that public debates are tools for producing answers, for getting at the truth. But are they? It seems, on the contrary, to be the case in many public arguments that no one expects an answer; that's why we settle for democracy rather than government by consensus. Debates are less a means for arriving at truth than they are rituals of the First Amendment: Their importance derives not from the conclusions of the participants, but from their very existence.

But besides her strangely un-American attachment to mediation, what Tannen is missing is that conflict is fun.

We love fighting for its own sake, even when one side is obviously wrong. Who knows why we do — Tannen cites a study that found that people who have severe mental disabilities often argue with one another because arguing, amusingly enough, turns out to be one of the least cognitively challenging ways to interact.

Remember Francis Fukuy-

ama's vision, in his notorious essay "The End of History?," of a post-1989 world in which everyone agreed that liberal capitalism was the best form of government, and ideological argument came to an end?

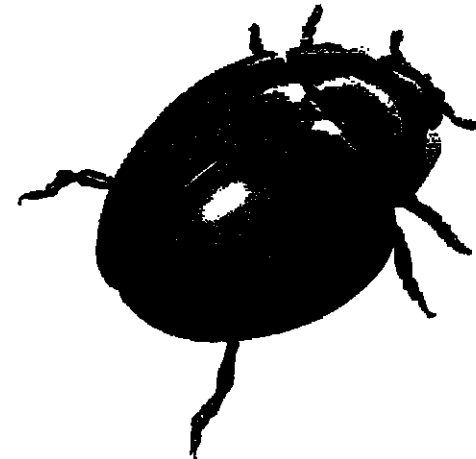
This world is Tannen's world. Tannen is Fukuyama put into practice. The difference between them, though, is that while for Tannen the prospect of an end to ideological conflict is utopian, Fukuyama thought such a world would be crushingly boring. And insofar as many of us are more like Fukuyama than Tannen, here may lie a possible explanation for all the ridiculous arguments that Tannen sees on television.

Perhaps those benighted producers go hunting for lunatics in a nostalgic quest for ideological struggle. They, like Fukuyama, are miserably anxious lest Reason at last fulfill its dreadful promise, and they wake up one morning to a Deborah Tannen world in which there is no disagreement left at all.

Larissa MacFarquhar, who reports for The New Yorker, Slate and Arforum, wrote this for The New York Times.

## BEST SELLERS

The New York Times This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.			
FICTION			
Rank	Title	Author	Weeks on List
1	THE STREET LAWYER	John Grisham	9
2	PANDORA	Ann Rhee	4
3	THE LONG ROAD HOME	Danille Seal	1
4	COLD MOUNTAIN	Charles Frazier	41
5	PARADISE	Tom Noonan	13
6	TOKIN, Robin Cook		2
7	HUMPHREY	Nora Roberts	4
8	MEMOIRS OF A GISHIA	Arthur Golden	22
9	BLACK AND BLUE	Anna Quindlen	9
10	WITH THIS KING	Ann Rhee	10
11	SUPPER MISCHIEF	Robert B. Parker	11
12	BLOOD WORK	Michael Connelly	7
13	AN INSTANCE OF THE FINGERPOST	Lian Hearn	10
14	THE MARK OF THE ASSASSIN	Siddh	12
15	THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION	Vidal	14
NONFICTION			
1	TALKING TO HEAVEN	James Van Praagh	15
2	TUESDAYS WITH MORRIE	Albion	26
3	ANGEL'S ASHES	Frank McCourt	8
4	SPIN CYCLE	Howard Stern	5
5	THE MILLIONAIRE NEXT DOOR	Thomas J. Stanley and William D. Danko	65
6	MIDNIGHT IN THE GARDEN OF GOOD AND EVIL	John Berendt	196
7	INTO THIN AIR	Jon Krakauer	30
8	THE MAN WHO LISTENS TO HORSES	Monty Roberts	35
9	CONFESSIONS WITH GOD: Book 1	Neale Donald Walsch	70
10	THE PERFECT STORM	Sebastian Junger	45
11	THE GIFT OF THE JEWS	Thomas Cahill	1
12	TITANIC: Legend of the World's Greatest Ocean Liner	Sean Wilentz	11
13	THE LONG HARD ROAD OUT OF HELL	Marilyn Manson with Neil Strauss	8
14	JAMES CAMERON'S TITANIC	Ed W. Marsh	11
15	A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE	Paul Johnson	3
ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS			
1	THE 9 STEPS TO FINANCIAL FREEDOM	Steve Oram	3
2	EIGHT WEEKS TO OPTIMUM HEALTH		24
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4	DON'T WORRY, MAKE MONEY	Rachael Carson	16



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THE WORLD'S DAILY NEWSPAPER



# Another Movie Star Turn: Kevin Spacey Is a Chilling 'Iceman'

By Sheridan Morley  
International Herald Tribune

**L**ONDON — "The Iceman Cometh," Eugene O'Neill's great, flawed masterpiece, written over seven years from 1939 and played ever since over more than four hours, has not had an easy history in Britain. Of its two major productions since the war, one had a Hickey who departed in mid-rehearsal and the other caused Ian Holm so massive an attack of stage fright that he spent the next 20 years exclusively in movies, only then returning to the National to storm the other great actor's mountain, "King Lear."

But the great news now, from the Almeida in Islington to fringe theater on a remarkable high, having just sent Juliette Binoche into the West End with Pirandello's "Naked" and Liam Neeson as Oscar Wilde with David Hare's "The Judas Kiss," is that at last we have a definitive "Iceman" in Kevin Spacey, yet another Hollywood star on loan to North London at a minimal salary to establish stage credentials unavailable elsewhere.

His Hickey, the wife-murdering Iceman of the title, is just about the most impressive London star debut I can recall, and in a truly magnificent production, Howard Davies has surrounded him with an equally stellar cast of 20 of the best character actors in town, all adding up to a theatrical team and a stage experience that has been rivaled neither by the National nor the Royal Shakespeare Company these last 20 years.

Spacey's Iceman erupts into a no-hope bar in the New York of 1912. Harry Hope's end of the world saloon, there to spread the word that a life of reality, however terrible, is surely better than a slow death of disillusion. Spacey sees the Iceman as a weird mix of Billy Graham and Willy Loman, trying to convince his old drinking pals of the new world that is awaiting them if only they could stay sober enough to cross the street.

Hickey may well be Death or the Messiah as well as the local killer. When he departs, in handcuffs, which he is all too eager to adopt, no other living soul in that bar will ever be quite the same again. His truth spreads like a plague through the saloon, where each

of the drinkers who have had their lives however briefly galvanized and reorganized by Hickey greet his ultimate arrest with something like glee, because it means they can sink back, untroubled and unchallenged, into their pipe dreams.

The brilliance of this Davies production is to understand that it is a group confession and to cast it with such utter accuracy. Tim Pigott-Smith as the only observer who at the last comes to see what Hickey wanted. Patrick

Godfrey and Nicholas Day still fighting out the Boer War, Clarke Peters as the gambling pianist, Ian Bartholomew as the tomorrow man for whom it never comes are but part of a cast who each deserve some kind of medal for gallantry

and for using the few minutes allotted each to make a vehement case for this story to be exclusively about them.

In a powerfully Irish week, Sebastian Barry's "Our Lady of Sligo" (Comesloe stage at the National) betrays an odd debt to O'Neill, for here too a single character takes center stage for 20-minute monologues of despair and disgust as she looks back on a life wasted by alcohol. Sinead Cusack, in the performance of her career, remains bedridden as she dies of cancer in a 1953 Dublin hospital.

But she too is 33, and it does not take us long to realize that Our Lady of Sligo is not necessarily the religious painting on the wall, nor even perhaps the cancer victim, desperately trying to make some sense of her tragically wasted life even as it wastes her. Not to put it too heavily,

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## CROSSWORD

**ACROSS**

- Not for here
- Garfield's middle name
- Use a lot
- No longer thinking about
- "The Lord of the Rings" character
- Initial, say
- Line of collectible 1980's cards
- Sovereign
- Like Poe stories
- "Fancy" —
- Broadcast snafu
- Like Samsung Corporation
- Part of a screwdriver
- Some newspaper pages
- Abbreviated version
- Driving position
- G-man
- Tabloid talk shows, e.g.
- Up — point
- Jockey's need
- Sub in a tub
- Cinemas
- Train track
- Gneously
- "Oklahoma!" choreographer
- Bash
- In the bag
- Astringent's target
- Ignorers of sound diet
- Hunter Harshiser
- "Romola" writer
- Lullapalooza
- Withered
- Taylor of "The Nanny"
- London finales
- 30's-40's bandleader Kay
- Shocked
- Job for a plumber
- Hawaiian warbler
- Use a word processor, maybe
- Roman Catholic org. since 1982
- Phone button
- Start from scratch
- Carpenter's clamps
- "Atlantic City" director
- The — Reader
- Self-assurance
- Slutterer's love?
- Disturb
- String in a string quartet
- Sharp point
- "In & Out" director, 1997
- Hebrew leader
- Show respect to
- Karate schools
- Accustom
- Worker with a pick
- Popular action figure
- Valhalla V.I.P.
- German article
- Spring purchase
- Lit. Lit. once
- Anthem contraction
- Good — day

**DOWN**

- Senais attire
- Face shape
- Kind of warfare
- Took a round
- Knitter's project
- A.L. batting champ in three different decades
- Not pouring smoothly, as a liquid
- Org. quoted on toothpaste tubes
- Miss Piggy, self-referentially
- Prodded
- Director
- Kurosawa
- They form central angles

**Solution to Puzzle of April 21**

KHAN	MOMA	PACIER
NOBE	ERIC	ADALE
OLDAS	METHUSELAH	
XES	COMEN	MAPE
FRI	SOFT	ISM
OCULARS	ERASE	
NEWAMSTERDAM		
TEAM	AGO	YEAR
BORROWEDTIME		
GRETA	SNACKIN	
IRE	OKLA	CIN
NIPS	ELLIOT	ZIG
BLUEGRASS	REGION	
ALTAR	MOLE	ANNA
DEERE	APES	SCAT

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## Laughing at the Sicilian Mob

A Film Breaches an Invisible Cultural Barrier

By Celestine Bohlen

**P**ALERMO, Italy — Feature films about the Sicilian Mafia used to be predictable fare, like cowboy or kung fu movies. Stock characters included the stern patriarch, the nasty killer, the silent wife, the corrupt businessman and, of course, the lonely anti-Mafia crusader.

Put them together in a mournful struggle of good versus evil, and, proof, there it was: another in a long string of movies that regularly crowded Italian theaters and television screens.

Now along comes a Mafia movie that has none of these characters, not even a moral dimension to speak of, and that is, of all things, a musical comedy. It was filmed in one of Palermo's most notoriously mob-infested neighborhoods, featuring characters literally drawn from the street, and to some extent it's real life.

With its sing-along tunes ("We are the Mafia" is one, sung in Sicilian dialect), nutty dance numbers (featuring Mafiosi waving dead chickens) and chorus of overweight Mafia women complaining about their overbearing men, "Tano to Die For" is a sometimes surrealistic film by Roberto Torre, a 36-year-old director in Palermo. The film does more than challenge clichés about Sicily's Mafia culture; it ridicules them.

The movie reflects a historical necessity, which 10 years ago would have been impossible, said Franco Maresco, an avant-garde Sicilian filmmaker whose movies, made with his partner, Daniele Cipri, present a bleaker vision of Sicily, Italy's southernmost island.

Ten years ago, the actors from the Vucciria neighborhood would not have participated. They would have been afraid to make fun of a Mafioso, to make fun of *omertà*, the Mafia's code of silence. "They were the same people who used to see dead bodies in the streets."

There was no space for satire then. "It was a war," said Goffredo Fofi, a film critic who once lived in Palermo. "People were losing their lives."

By breaking what had become an invisible cultural barrier, "Tano to Die For," a big hit here in the Sicilian capital, is seen as a cultural monument, a sign of Palermo's recovery from its smothering oppression by a criminal organization that six years ago was

brazenly executing Italy's most celebrated prosecutors.

The murders of two of them in 1992 were the turning point in Italy's war against organized crime. Spurred by popular outrage, the government dispatched army troops to Sicily, and the pace of prosecutions picked up. Today, most of the top bosses are in jail. And while the Mafia is still a pervasive force here, its mystique has been tarnished.

That is where "Tano to Die For" enters the picture. "Tano" is an ambiguous phenomenon," said Leoluca Orlando, the mayor of Palermo. He is a big booster of Torre's movie, which he calls "an act of liberation."

No one — not Orlando or Torre — would ever argue that the war against the Mafia in Sicily was over. All they are saying is that the time has come for another look at the enemy. In the old days, Orlando recalled, Mafia bosses had nicknames like "the Pope," "the Prince," "the Baron." By the 1980s, he said, when the violence and brutality had gotten out of control, the nickname for Toto Riina, the boss of bosses, was "the Beast."

That shows to what extent the Mafia had become barbarians," said Orlando. "And that's what 'Tano' does. It reveals their barbarity, their vulgarity, their ambiguity."

Nonetheless, after its release last summer at the Venice Film Festival, the movie stirred debate over whether the Mafia could ever be seen in a humorous light, whether, for instance, scenes of wedding guests being mowed down by machine-gun fire are appropriate in musical comedy.

The argument is an old one, circling the question of whether comedy and humor are appropriate for subjects that are deeply painful and tragic. Torre, a northern Italian who moved to Palermo seven years ago, has little patience for a debate that she says was resolved by the ancient Greeks. She said she did not set out to make fun of the Mafia. "Within the tragedy of the Mafia, there is also a cultural side, a subculture that exists," she said. "That is what I wanted to explore. To see what is really happening in the Mafia neighborhoods, in the homes of the Mafiosi themselves."

The story of Tano Guarrasi, a butcher and small-time Mafia boss who tyrannizes his unmarried sisters, is a true one

that Guarrasi's brother-in-law originally told her in embellished form, with the quasi-mythical details that have given the Mafia a special aura. Discovering the truth, she said, was part of her immersion into the Mafia culture as it really is.

"I really entered into this story, and I was lucky, because it is not an easy world to get into," she said. "You can only enter if you have a middleman to introduce you. It helped that the people who acted in the film co-exist daily with the Mafia. That is the part that I found most fascinating: taking people who were quasi-Mafiosi and putting them into a film about the Mafia. They loved it."

The film, with its snappy music by Nino D'Angelo, a Neapolitan, views Mafia culture and traditions as more grotesque, more exaggerated than the old glossy images usually seen in the genre. In "Tano to Die For," the Mafia initiation rites don't involve pricked fingertips and images of saints, but rather a gaudy song-and-dance of male bonding with a strong homosexual undercurrent.

Similarly, family honor, the tie that binds Sicily's mafia clans, is reduced in the movie to an incestuous relationship between Tano and the sisters he would never let get married.

**N**ONE of these scenes are very flattering to Sicilians, let alone Mafiosi, a fact that has disturbed some people. Giorgio Castellani, a Palermo filmmaker whose father, Michele Greco, was a notorious Mafia boss, found the movie distasteful, saying, "It isn't realism, it is a comic book." He added: "They made a caricature of Sicilians, which I found offensive because we are presented as ugly and monstrous. There are no beautiful women in the film."

Even if the Mafia image is changing, the old stereotypes are still in demand. In his latest movie, "The Grimaldis," the story of a Sicilian family, Castellani had to insert a Mafia figure at the insistence of his producers. "I didn't want to talk about the Mafia in this film, but I was forced to, because you have to meet the needs of the market," he said.

But there are signs that even Italians are wearying of a genre that has been outstripped by reality. This year, ratings for the ninth installment of the hugely popular Mafia television serial "The Octopus" were the lowest ever.

## Cuban Revolution in U.S. Music

By Peter Watrous  
New York Times Staff

**M**IAAMI — As the sun went down on another slug-gishly blissful Miami day, a few dozen demonstrators yelled insults at the 700 or so people who had come to see a screening of Hugo Cancio's movie on the Cuban don-wop group Los Zafiros. The audience, young and old, black and white, filed into the Guzman Theatre in downtown Miami on Thursday night as the underwhelmed police contingent, perhaps 10 in all, watched the demonstrators to see they didn't cross the street. None did.

Inside, the extraordinary Cuban vocal group Gema 4, an a cappella quartet, sang a song, "Habana," originally sung by the Zafiros in the early 1960s. Cancio, 33, a Cuban American, shot his film, "Zafiros, Locura Azul," ("Blue Madness"), in Havana with Cuban actors. It had the audience moaning with laughter and remembrance. In Havana it has broken all attendance records and won a prize at the Havana Film Festival. For the Miami audience, it was like going home.

Cancio brought the film's actors to Miami from Havana (along with Gema 4 and members of Havana's hottest band, La Charanga Habanera, on their way to play in Northampton, Mass., as part of the Fiesta Cubana of the Massachusetts International Festival of the Arts.) Their appearance would have been impossible even a year ago because of pressure from rightist Cuban exile groups. After the film, the actors and musicians went to a Miami club. Starfish, where the musicians played for dancers with a local group, just as they might have anywhere else in the United States.



Jose Maria Vitier and the singer Xiomara Laugart.

"A lot of things, big and small, have happened over the last year or so," said Manning Sulazar, a young Cuban American music promoter who is active in the Miami underground's effort to promote Cuban culture. "Jorge Mas Canosa, the leader of the right-wing Cubans, died. The first Latin Midem last year, a music convention, was controversial about its caving in to the demands of local government to ban Cuban music. This year's Midem will have a Cuban band playing. And the singer Carlos Varela played here in a semi-public performance recently with no problems at all."

"So Hugo's movie, and the lack of response from the right wing, is more proof how far Miami has come. Now many institutions are open to things like this. It was an unthinkable event a year ago, and now it seems like the future."

The event's success has emboldened Cancio, a businessman who also runs a music production company, to throw the first full-fledged post-revolutionary Cuban pop music concert in Miami.

out and enjoy some of the best music on earth."

And on Friday night at the Academy of Arts in Northampton, where the idea of a right-wing demonstrator was thoroughly beyond the pale, another kind of history was being made, and another kind of future predicted. The Massachusetts International Festival of the Arts convened Gema 4, Jose Maria Vitier's group, and Charanga Habanera to give a three-day demonstration of the great variety of Cuban music.

"I went to Cuba recently," said Donald Sanders, the executive artistic director of the Massachusetts International Festival of the Arts, and a playwright. "I was knocked out by the depth and range of Cuban music. How varied it is, and how little we know about it. Because of politics, it's been concealed from the American public. So we decided to do the Fiesta Cubana, and our audience is perfect for the music, inquisitive and intelligent and open-minded."



**Tuesday's 4 P.M.**  
The 1,000 most traded National Market securities  
in terms of dollar value, updated twice a year.  
*The Associated Press*

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[illegible]

**Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close**  
The 2,600 most traded stocks of the day.  
Nationwide prices not reflecting late trades elsewhere.  
*The Associated Press.*

12 Month		52		High Low		Stock	Div Yld	PE	100% High	Lowest	Change
A-B-C											
24	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
25	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
26	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
27	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
28	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
29	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
30	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
31	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
32	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
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35	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
36	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
37	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
38	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
39	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
40	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
41	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
42	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
43	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
44	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
45	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
46	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
47	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
48	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
49	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
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59	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
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61	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
62	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
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64	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
65	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
66	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
67	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
68	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
69	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
70	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
71	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
72	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
73	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
74	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
75	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
76	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
77	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
78	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
79	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
80	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
81	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
82	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
83	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
84	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
85	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
86	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
87	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
88	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
89	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
90	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
91	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
92	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
93	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
94	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
95	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
96	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
97	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
98	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
99	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34
100	1914	AAR	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34	12.54	34

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## Will Drop Suit

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**CURRENCY**

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Continued on Page 16







THE AMERICAS

# Drug Companies and Major Banks Lead a Profit Parade

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**NEW YORK** — Drug companies including Schering-Plough Corp. and Bristol-Myers Squibb Co. and big banks led by Citicorp reported strong first-quarter profits Tuesday.

Schering-Plough said profit rose 20 percent, to \$450 million, partly because of a 27 percent growth rate in U.S. sales of prescription drugs. Total sales rose 22 percent, to \$1.9 billion. A strong dollar trimmed three percentage points from the sales figure, the company said.

Richard Jay Kogan, president and chief executive officer, said the company's performance had been driven by strong worldwide pharmaceutical sales, gains in consumer

health-care products and higher worldwide sales of animal health products.

Bristol-Myers earned a net \$927 million in the quarter, up from \$810 million a year earlier, as sales rose 10 percent, to \$4.45 billion.

Sales were helped by a 19 percent rise in sales of Pravachol, a drug that lowers cholesterol, to \$444 million in the quarter; a 43 percent jump for the diabetes drug Glucophage, with \$181 million in sales; a 69 percent increase for the AIDS drug Zidovudine, with sales of \$129 million; and a 114 percent jump for the Herbal Essences line of hair care products, with \$129 million in sales.

Among the big banks, Citicorp

said its net profit rose to \$1.06 billion from \$995 million a year earlier, as revenue rose to \$6.06 billion from \$5.63 billion.

The bank holding company, which is combining with Travelers Group Inc. to form the world's biggest financial-services company, said surging stock markets in Europe and the United States had more than offset the impact of Asia's sluggish economy.

Chase Manhattan Corp., the largest U.S. bank holding company, said operating earnings rose to \$1.05 billion from \$949 million a year ago, helped by trading and investment banking units.

Chase's noninterest revenue rose 19 percent, to \$2.47 billion. Cor-

porate finance and loan syndication fees more than doubled to \$361 million, while trading revenue advanced 23 percent to \$713 million. Revenue from the bank's equity investments increased 75 percent, to \$287 million.

Credit-card revenue rose 17 percent, to \$931 million. Net interest income rose 4.3 percent, to \$2.16 billion. Chase increased its loan-loss provisions to \$344 million from \$220 million a year earlier.

Banc One Corp., which plans to combine with First Chicago NBD Corp. said its net income rose to \$317.6 million from \$381.9 million.

Net interest income fell 2.7 percent, to \$1.32 billion, even as the bank increased managed loans and leases by 10 percent, to \$112.8 billion. The net interest margin widened to 6.54 percent from 6.26 percent in the year-earlier period.

The bank reduced its provision for future loan losses by 25 percent, to \$202.8 million.

Noninterest income surged 41 percent to \$1.14 billion, fueled by increases in income from its securities brokerage business and investment banking.

Among other results reported Tuesday:

• Philip Morris Cos. said net profit rose to \$1.87 billion from \$1.77 billion a year earlier as cigarette sales stayed strong despite higher prices the company charged to fund industry legal settlements. Revenue rose to \$18.38 billion from \$18.22 billion.

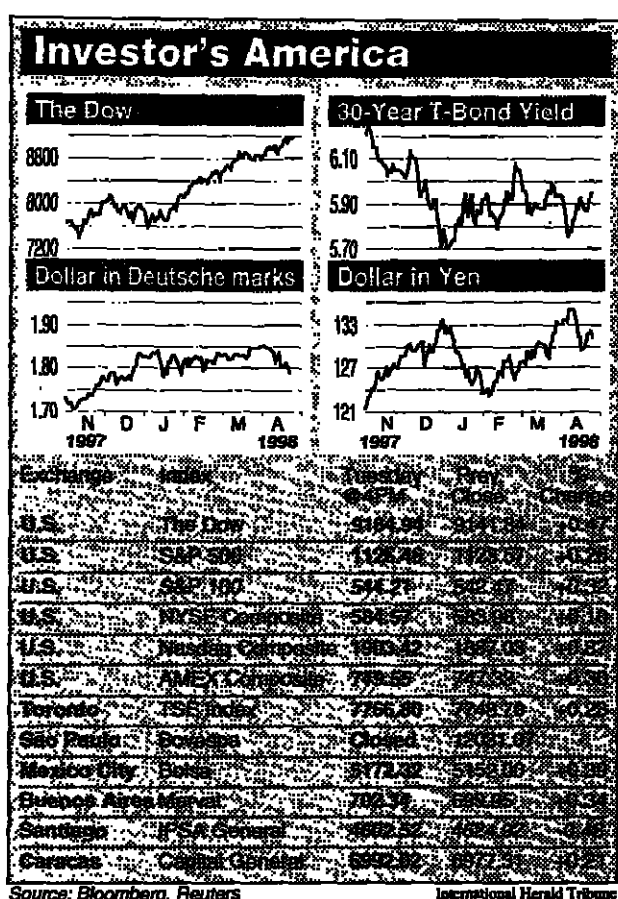
Philip Morris said the unfavorable impact of foreign-exchange conversions eroded its first-quarter net income by \$133 million.

Philip Morris said its share of cigarette sales in the U.S. surpassed 50 percent for the first time, partly on sales of its new Marlboro Ultra Lights, which have the least tar and nicotine of its Marlboro lines.

The company's U.S. cigarette sales rose more than 2 percent as industrywide sales declined almost 2 percent.

• Low oil and natural gas prices slashed profit at Exxon Corp. and Amoco Corp. Exxon's net profit fell to \$1.89 billion from \$2.18 billion a year earlier, while Amoco's profit slumped to \$386 million from \$674 million.

(AP, Reuters, AFX, Bloomberg)



## Very briefly:

- DreamWorks SKG, the movie studio formed by Steven Spielberg, Jeffrey Katzenberg and David Geffen, faced the threat of a revived trademark-infringement lawsuit Tuesday after a federal appeals court ruled that a suit filed in 1995 by DreamWorks Production Group Inc. could proceed to trial. DreamWorks organizes conventions for fans of "Star Trek" and other television shows.
- The U.S. insurance industry lost a \$1 billion legal fight when the Supreme Court ruled against it in a tax dispute. Clearing up a conflict among lower courts, the justices unanimously sided with the Internal Revenue Service on the tax treatment of loss reserves, or the amounts that insurers set aside on their books against anticipated claims.
- Equity Inns Inc. will buy a hotel real-estate investment trust, RFS Hotel Investors Inc., in a stock-and-debt deal valued at about \$990 million. The resulting investment trust will have a market capitalization of \$1.8 billion.
- Microsoft Corp.'s effort to overturn a temporary injunction ended Tuesday without a decision. The hearing in federal appeals court had been held to decide whether a judge overstepped his authority in December when he issued the injunction over Microsoft's strategy of including its browser in its software.

Bloomberg, WP, Reuters, AFX

## GEC to Buy Tracor for \$1.4 Billion

Bloomberg News

AUSTIN, Texas — General Electric Co. of Britain agreed Tuesday to buy Tracor Inc. for \$1.4 billion in cash and assumed debt as it expands in the U.S. defense-electronics market.

GEC, which is unrelated to the U.S. company with the same name, offered \$40 a share for Tracor. The offer has the support of Tracor's board. Tracor was quoted at \$39.12 a share, up \$2.75, in late trading Tuesday on the Nasdaq Stock Market.

GEC said it would merge Tracor into the U.S. operations of its defense unit, GEC-Marconi.

## Big Blue Lifts Blue-Chips to Record

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**NEW YORK** — Stocks rose Tuesday, with blue-chip and technology issues reaching records after a string of first-quarter results topped analysts' expectations.

The Dow Jones industrial average closed 43.10 points higher at a record 9,184.94, and the technology-heavy Nasdaq composite index finished 17.04 points higher at a record 1,904.18.

The Standard & Poor's 500 index also edged up to a record, closing 2.81 points higher at 1,126.46. Gaining issues outnumbered declining ones by a narrow margin on the New York Stock Exchange.

IBM led the Dow higher, gaining 6 1/2 to 118 1/16 despite reporting a 13 percent drop in first-quarter profit Tuesday. The computer maker said price wars and the economic turmoil in Asia had hit results, but the earnings still exceeded analysts' expectations.

"A lot of investors were expecting a disappointment, so there was relief," said Phil Schettini at Loomis, Sayles & Co. "IBM is involved in

just about every technology out there. This tells me business is probably O.K. for a lot of companies."

The most actively traded Nasdaq stock was 7th Level, which rose 7 1/32 to 9 5/32; the company

### U.S. STOCKS

said its character-animation technology would be distributed on WavePhore's Internet broadcast system.

Market Guide rose 16 1/16 to 24. The company said it would be providing financial data for America Online's investment research site.

Network Associates rose 6 7/16 to 70 11/16 after the anti-virus software developer reported strong first-quarter earnings.

K-Tel International rose 3/4 to 42 1/4. The stock traded at just 6 1/4 two weeks ago but has rocketed since the company said it planned to sell records on the Internet.

Drug stocks were strong, with Pfizer rising 2 13/16 to 116 3/16 after industry reports said its new anti-impotence pill was one of the fastest-selling drugs in history.

But analysts said that while technology stocks were firing well, other market sectors continued to face heavy profit-taking pressure.

"This market is so nervous here that where there are profits, they'll take them," said Michael Lyons an equities trader at Morgan Stanley, Dean Witter & Co.

Infocoll, for example, fell 1 13/16 to 37 1/2 after the company, which makes tools for searching the Internet, rose sharply over the past week.

In the Treasury bond market, the price of the benchmark 30-year issue fell 12 3/32 to 102 13/32, sending the yield up to 5.95 percent from 5.92 percent Monday.

Demand for government securities was bogged down by competition from large corporate issues this week. Ford Motor Credit sold \$3.25 billion of bonds Tuesday, and leading companies expected to sell \$8 billion more in the next few days.

Ford sold \$1 billion of seven-year floating-rate notes at an initial yield of 5.875 percent and \$2.25 billion of five-year notes at 6.17 percent.

(AP, Bridge News, Bloomberg)

## HOLT: U.S. Culture Shock for German Publishing Executive

Continued from Page 13

erage rate of return of unsold books has dropped to about 32 percent from 35 percent or 40 percent in 1996 and 1997.

Upon arriving, Mr. Naumann took some expensive risks with a broader strategy of creating a high profile for Henry Holt. In 1996, there was the reported \$2.5 million for Salman Rushdie's book about

backstage life with a U2-style British rock band and the rights to three paperback books, including "The Satanic Verses." Other publishers criticized the deal, saying that Mr. Naumann had overspent on a writer with a sales history that had no momentum.

More recently, Mr. Naumann resigned Holt's most stable contributor, Sue Grafton, for a two-book deal that rival executives said could

amount to almost \$5 million a book.

Mr. Naumann dismissed those figures as exaggerations, but he noted that he had deliberately tried to raise the profile of Henry Holt by signing noted authors while restructuring his house.

With those moves has come rapid employee turnover; there has been an exodus of top employees in marketing, editorial and public relations.

## AMEX

### Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close

The 300 most traded stocks of the day, up or down on Wall Street. The Associated Press.

Stock	High	Low	Last	Chg.
AMEX	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 300	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 1000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 1500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 2000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 2500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 3000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 3500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 4000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 4500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 5000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 5500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 6000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 6500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 7000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 7500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 8000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 8500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 9000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 9500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 10000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 10500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 11000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 11500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 12000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 12500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 13000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 13500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 14000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 14500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 15000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 15500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 16000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
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AMEX 18000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 18500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 19000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 19500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 20000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 20500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 21000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 21500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 22000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 22500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 23000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 23500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 24000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 24500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 25000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 25500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 26000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 26500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 27000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 27500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 28000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 28500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 29000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 29500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 30000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 30500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 31000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 31500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 32000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 32500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 33000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 33500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 34000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 34500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 35000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 35500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 36000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 36500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 37000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 37500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 38000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 38500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 39000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 39500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 40000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 40500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 41000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 41500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 42000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 42500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 43000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 43500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 44000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 44500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 45000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 45500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 46000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 46500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 47000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 47500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 48000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 48500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 49000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 49500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 50000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 50500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 51000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 51500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 52000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 52500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 53000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 53500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 54000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 54500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 55000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 55500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 56000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 56500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 57000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 57500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 58000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 58500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 59000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 59500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 60000	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 60500	141.12	140.88	141.00	+0.12
AMEX 6				



Profit Parade  
Increase Speculation  
Bank Against Dollar

EUROPE

# Finance Ministers Give Euro Confidence Push

## But Central Bank Feud Remains Unresolved

**LUXEMBOURG** — The European Union moved a step closer to monetary union Tuesday but was nearer to deciding who should be the key figure driving economic policy. Finance ministers, seeking to increase confidence in the common currency, agreed in principle to control their budget deficits and reduce debts after the currency is started Jan. 1. EU finance ministers were seen sending a message to those worried that Europe's new single currency, the euro, may be weaker than the domestic currencies it will replace. In Germany, for instance, recent polls show more than half of the electorate oppose the 1999 introduction of the euro.

Finance Minister Theo Waigel of Germany said the German-led proposals to restrain debt and deficits were "positively received" by the finance ministers, who met in Luxembourg. Mr. Waigel said he was confident EU leaders would adopt the pact when they select 11 nations to begin the monetary union on May 2. The 11 nations expected to start



Finance Minister Theo Waigel of Germany, left, speaking with Gordon Brown, the chancellor of the Exchequer, on Tuesday.

the euro are Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Finland, Ireland, Spain and Portugal. Britain, Denmark and Sweden plan to stay out for the time being, while a fourth, Greece, missed the economic requirements.

Mr. Waigel's plan, put forward last month in York, England, called for the euro nations to behave from May as if a "stability pact" imposing sanctions for fiscal misdeeds were already in place. The pact actually takes effect in January.

The proposal calls on euro governments with heavy debt, such as Italy and Belgium, to generate budget surpluses and to shift from short- to long-term borrowing to reduce debt costs and provide stable financing.

The ministers also adopted plans to reallocate 450 million European Currency Units (\$493 million) from the EU budget over three years to help fund businesses' job-boosting investment plans.

The British chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, the chairman of the meeting, said the decision

# Debt in Asia And Weakness In Music Sales Hit Polygram

**AMSTERDAM** — PolyGram NV said Tuesday its first-quarter profit plunged 88 percent because of a lack of major releases at its pop-music division and increased provisions for bad debts in Asia.

Profit at PolyGram, whose recording artists range from established groups such as U2 to teenybopper acts such as Hanson, dropped to 15 million guilders (\$7.4 million) in the quarter from 122 million guilders a year earlier. Sales rose 4 percent, to 2.28 billion guilders.

The company attributed the drop in profit to a 6 percent fall in music sales. During the quarter, PolyGram only had two platinum-selling albums — by Andrea Bocelli and All Saints — compared with five last year.

The company cautioned last month that its first-quarter music sales and margins had suffered.

Profit from music also declined because the company raised its provisions for bad debts and returns in Asia, citing the "difficult trading environment in the region." PolyGram made 16 percent of its sales in Asia in 1997. Overall, sales in Asia fell 22 percent in the first quarter.

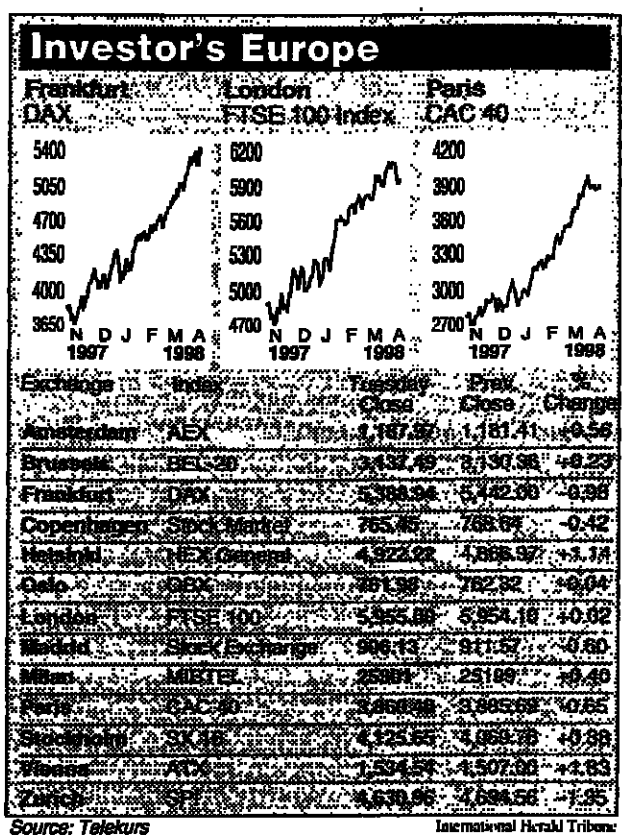
Operating income in the music division dropped to 90 million guilders from 251 million guilders a year earlier.

PolyGram expects an improved performance in the music division, particularly in the second half of 1998, said Alain Levy, the company's president. For the rest of the year, music releases are expected to include works from Boyzone, Sheryl Crow, the Cranberries, the Cardigans and Hanson.

Films remained unprofitable but showed a better performance than a year earlier, helped by hit films such as "The Big Lebowski" and video releases such as "The Game" and "Bean." The film unit reported an operating loss of 49 million guilders, narrowed from 55 million guilders. Sales rose 64 percent, to 480 million guilders.

PolyGram's shares closed unchanged at 87 guilders.

(AP, Reuters, Bloomberg)



Source: Telekurs

## Very briefly:

- The International Monetary Fund made "substantial progress" toward a large loan, believed to be a three-year, \$2.5 billion deal, for Ukraine but plans to await action on reforms before it hands out the money.
- The Paris Bourse signed a deal with Citibank to begin selling European depositary receipts, similar to American depositary receipts, offering non-European companies, particularly those in emerging markets, a listing on the Bourse.
- MEPC PLC, Britain's third-largest real-estate company, sold its eight U.S. shopping malls to General Growth Properties Inc. for \$871 million as it pursues a plan to focus on British investment properties.
- Sweden's transport and communications minister, Ines Uusmann, said the country should have sought to join Europe's economic and monetary union at its planned beginning next year because of its dependence on exports. He said the government's decision to not participate initially could cost Sweden jobs.
- Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda plan to present their budgets on the same day, June 11, to facilitate harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies. The countries are united in the East African Cooperation, which aims at integrating their economies.
- SmithKline Beecham PLC's first-quarter earnings rose 9 percent, to £319 million (\$526 million), as strong drug sales offset the effects of the strong pound and higher research and development costs. Revenue rose 3 percent, to £1.89 billion.
- Argos PLC shareholders Baillie Gifford & Co. and National Corp. plan to vote against a £1.9 billion bid for the British catalog retailer by Great Universal Stores PLC.
- Enron Corp. is "very close" to an agreement with state-owned Qatar General Petroleum Corp. on a venture to build a \$4 billion liquefied natural-gas plant in the Gulf state.

AP, Bloomberg, Reuters

# Robust Demand Sent SAP's Profit Up 72% in 1st Period

**FRANKFURT** — SAP AG said Tuesday that robust demand and favorable currency movements sparked a 72 percent jump in its pretax profit in the first quarter.

The German software maker said pretax profit climbed to 311 million Deutsche marks (\$172.7 million) from 181 million DM a year earlier as sales rose to 1.68 billion DM from 1.03 billion DM.

Sales of SAP's R/3 business-management software have soared amid demand for features that help computers overcome the so-called millennium bug and the planned change by 11 European countries to a single currency next year. Although demand is expected to slow as those milestones pass, analysts say efforts to tailor R/3 to specific industries and introduce new products make SAP attractive.

SAP shares rose 6 DM on Tuesday to close at 941.

The company said it expected sales for the full year to rise by 30 percent or 35 percent.

"The strong sales rise in the first quarter is not an indication for the course of business in the full year," said Henning Kagermann, a managing board member.

But analysts said that forecast was too conservative.

"I don't understand that," said Michael Schatzschneider at BHF Bank. "To hit the 30 to 35 percent level, they would have to have really low fourth-quarter growth, and I can't see that happening."

SAP said favorable exchange rates added five percentage points to sales growth and two percentage points to profit growth in the first three months of 1998.

SAP's payroll expanded to 15,015 employees during the quarter from 10,055 on March 31, 1997.

The Americas remained SAP's largest business area, with first-quarter sales there rising 68 percent, to 749 million DM. German sales rose 53 percent, to 352 million DM, while sales in the rest of Europe grew 75 percent, to 385 million DM. In the Asia-Pacific region, sales gained 67 percent, to 179 million DM.

"SAP is one of the few compa-

## Chocolate Cravings Feed Cocoa Price

**LONDON** — Cocoa prices climbed after Barry Callebaut SA of Switzerland, the world's largest cocoa processor, said Tuesday it had bought "a major part" of Phibro Commodities' cocoa stockpile to meet surging demand for chocolate.

The cocoa stockpile owned by Phibro, which Travelers Group Inc. acquired when it bought Sa-

lomson Smith Barney Inc. in late November, has been estimated by analysts at about 400,000 tons, or one-third of annual global cocoa production. Phibro has declined to disclose the size of the stockpile.

Cocoa for July delivery, the most active contract, rose £28 \$47, or 2.7 percent, to close at \$1,081 a metric ton on the London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange.

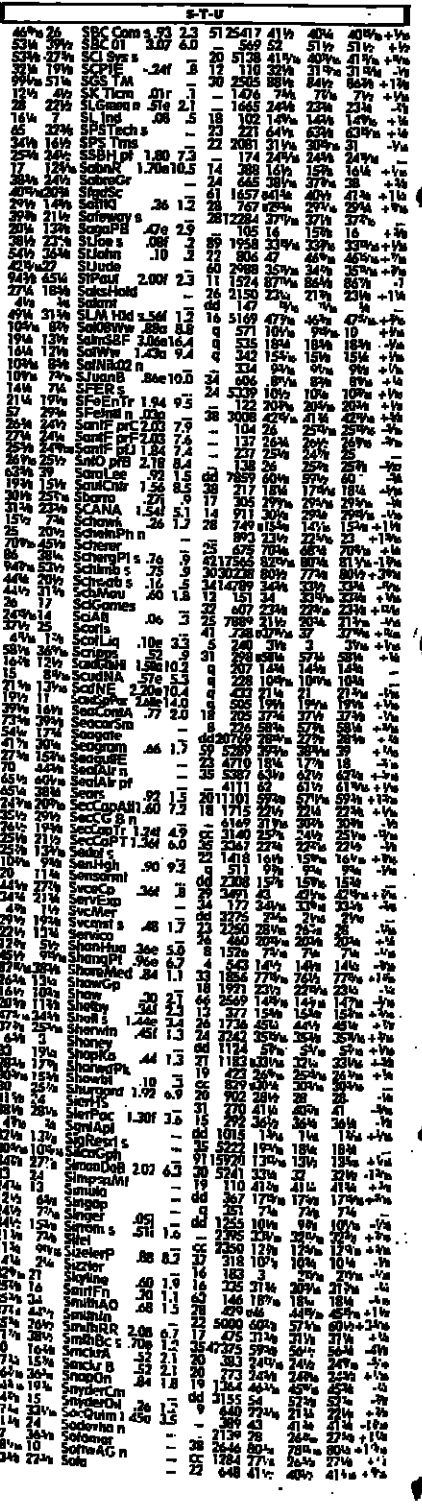
## WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Tuesday, April 21				High Low Close Prev.				High Low Close Prev.				High Low Close Prev.				High Low Close Prev.			
Prices in local currencies				Telereads				Telereads				Telereads				Telereads			
Amsterdam				Amsterdam				Amsterdam				Amsterdam				Amsterdam			
ABN-AMRO	54.20	53.20	53.20	54.10	ABN-AMRO	54.20	53.20	53.20	54.10	ABN-AMRO	54.20	53.20	53.20	54.10	ABN-AMRO	54.20	53.20	53.20	54.10
Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20
Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20
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Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20
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Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20
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Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20
Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20
Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20
Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20	Alm	26.20	27.20	26.20	26.20</										



**Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close**

(Continued)

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Continued on Page 17



ASIA/PACIFIC

# Marcos Associate Regains Stake in San Miguel

**MANILA** — A top business associate of the late dictator Ferdinand Marcos regained a minority stake Tuesday in the Philippines' biggest food and beverage conglomerate after a heated election that crowned a 12-year legal battle.

The industrialist, Eduardo Cojuangco, made his comeback to San Miguel Corp. in a day of drama that began when the Supreme Court rebuffed a government attempt to keep him out and ended in a shouting match during a shareholders' meeting. The meeting ended with Mr. Cojuangco winning the right to place three representatives on the 15-member board, representing Mr. Cojuangco's 20 percent stake.

Manila seized Mr. Cojuangco's shares in 1986 on suspicion they were part of Mr. Marcos' ill-gotten wealth after a popular revolt ousted the dictator and drove him and Mr. Cojuangco into exile. The government also seized another 27 percent stake held by Mr. Marcos or his associates.

Mr. Cojuangco's chief lawyer and one of his nominees to the board, Estelito Mendoza, said he

did not expect any major changes in the corporate structure but broadly hinted that there might be. "It is premature to talk of any plans we have on any changes," Mr. Mendoza said. "We are but a small minority."

The San Miguel chairman, Andres Soriano 3d, said management and government officials now recognized that resolving the issue of the seized shares was in the best interests of the company.

The legal tussle over those shares has prevented San Miguel from selling additional stock, forcing it to rely on debt to finance its expansion. Soaring debt contributed to a sharp fall in profit in 1997.

"Continued sequestration creates a competitive disadvantage for San Miguel and in the long run will penalize its shareholders," Mr. Soriano said.

The board shakeup could be the beginning of the end for Mr. Soriano's chairmanship of San Miguel, which his forefathers built into one of the best-known Philippine companies.

The government, which has backed Mr. Soriano, now only holds seven seats on the board —

short of the majority it had enjoyed.

"The desecration we so deeply desire will effectively mean a change in ownership and control one way or another," Mr. Soriano said.

Mr. Cojuangco's entry could lead to a management wrangle and "stall strategic changes in San Miguel," such as moves to cut costs in its food businesses and continue expanding overseas, said Raul Perez, analyst at Sapphire Securities Inc. Mr. Mendoza specifically questioned the board's focus on expanding San Miguel's operations overseas.

"The present management took the view that it was in the interest of San Miguel to go international," Mr. Mendoza said. "Up to now, it is not breaking even in these investments. So probably, it's time to look at the situation and decide whether San Miguel should contract, continue to pursue this, or modify this effort."

On Tuesday, San Miguel's class A shares, reserved for Filipinos, rose 0.50 peso, to close at 41 pesos (\$1.08), while its class B shares which foreigners can own, rose 1.50 pesos, to 69 pesos.

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

# Jakarta Lifts Rates in Bid To Bolster Its Economy

**JAKARTA** — The government raised key interest rates to as much as 50 percent Tuesday, on the eve of a deadline for implementing a series of reform efforts agreed to with the International Monetary Fund to help the country's battered economy.

The second rate increase in less than a month lifted the rupiah briefly, sending the dollar down to 7,835 rupiah from 8,100 rupiah Monday.

Bank Indonesia, the central bank, raised the rate on benchmark one-month SBI government bills to 50 percent from 45 percent and the rate on one-week SBI bills to 48 percent from 43 percent.

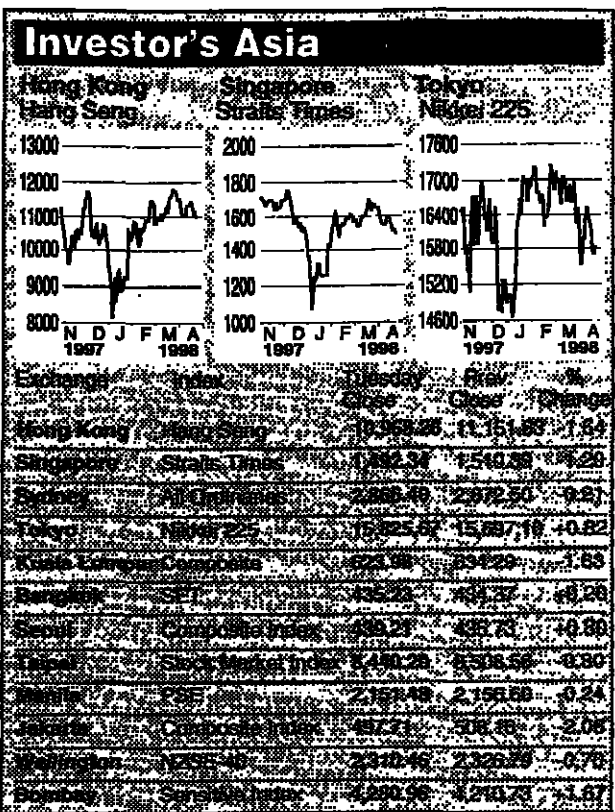
"If necessary, we'll raise rates again," Bank Indonesia's governor, Sjahril Sabirin, said. He said an exchange rate of 7,000 rupiah to the dollar was "good."

The rate increase was in line with policies pushed by the IMF, which is considering resuming payments from a \$43 billion aid plan for the country. But the higher rates threaten to bring more pain for the country's overextended companies, put more banks out of business, raise unemployment and fuel social unrest in the world's fourth most populous country.

Even with the high rates, "you are still not beating inflation," which may reach 100 percent by the end of the year, said Ascanio Martinotti, managing director of private equity for Hong Kong-based Regent Pacific Group Ltd.

Those concerns pulled the Jakarta Composite Index down 2.1 percent, or 10.45 points, to close at 497.71.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)



# Stevedores Win, but Court in Sydney Delays Rehiring

**SYDNEY** — Dock workers who have been blockading ports nationwide erupted in cheers Tuesday after a Federal Court judge ruled that a stevedore company had acted illegally when it fired all 1,400 of its union employees. But the full Federal Court later granted the company a 24-hour stay of the order so an appeal could be heard.

Justice Anthony North ordered Lang Corp.'s Patrick Stevedore unit

to rehire all of the Maritime Union of Australia workers that it had dismissed and evicted from ports on April 7. The company contended that union stevedores were too expensive and inefficient.

Lawyers for Patrick Stevedore were to appeal the order to the full bench of the Federal Court on Wednesday.

After the dismissals, the union established picket lines at Patrick's terminals at major ports, principally in Sydney, Melbourne, Perth and Brisbane. The union and its sympathizers have largely succeeded in preventing trucks and trains from loading and unloading cargo containers handled by nonunion replacements.

Justice North agreed with the union's contention that the dismissals had been carried out solely to rid Patrick of union labor.

"There is an arguable case that the Patrick owners and Patrick em-

ployers have engaged in an unlawful conspiracy," the justice said. He also said he had taken into consideration a union offer that its members would work without pay while the dispute was being resolved.

Trading in shares of Lang Corp. was suspended Tuesday after the ruling.

Meanwhile, farmers threatened Tuesday to break the blockade. "We have people in Western Australia who need fertilizer and chemicals off the wharves so they can get their cropping programs going," said Don McGaughie, the president of the National Farmers Federation. "Those people are prepared to go and load their own trucks."

Prime Minister John Howard said he sympathized with the farmers, but he urged them to abide by the law.

**Very briefly:**

- China will end its system of state housing allocations July 1 as part of its effort to scrap its socialist housing system and create a commercial residential market.
- China's foreign-exchange reserves, the world's second-largest after Japan's, grew \$730 million in the first three months of the year, to \$140.6 billion.
- China Telecom (Hong Kong) Ltd., the Hong Kong-listed arm of the state-run phone company, will buy a 1.6 percent stake in Globalstar Telecommunications Ltd. for \$37.5 million. Globalstar is a U.S.-based company that is building a worldwide satellite-based mobile telephone system.
- All Nippon Airways Co. formally signed a code-sharing agreement with United Airlines and Deutsche Lufthansa AG. The deal will allow the airlines to use the same flight numbers on selected routes and will link their frequent-flyer programs.
- Mitsubishi Trust & Banking Corp. lowered its group pretax profit estimate by 20 percent, to 24 billion yen (\$181.6 million), for the year that ended March 31 because of an increase in write-offs for bad loans. Mitsui Trust & Banking Co. also cut its profit expectations.
- Takashimaya Co. and Matsuzakaya Co., two major Japanese department-store companies, said their profits were badly hit by the economic slump in Japan. Takashimaya's parent pretax profit fell 26 percent, to 11.7 billion yen, in the year that ended in February as revenue slipped 0.2 percent, to 1.09 trillion yen. Matsuzakaya's profit dropped 58 percent, to 2.3 billion yen, as revenue fell 3 percent, to 422 billion yen.
- Mitsubishi Motors Corp.'s March domestic vehicle production fell 22 percent from a year earlier, to 102,512 units. Exports rose 10 percent in the month, to 56,156 units, the first gain in two months on a year-on-year basis. Domestic sales fell 25 percent from a year earlier, to 95,958 units.
- Toho Co., a Japanese movie distributor, said parent pretax profit rose 9.5 percent, to a record 11.44 billion yen, in the year that ended Feb. 28, helped by the success of its Japanese animated film "The Princess Mononoke."

AP, AFP, Reuters

# Taiwan Exports Sag on Weak Asia Demand

**TAIPEI** — Manufacturers' orders from abroad fell in March and in the first quarter, the government reported Tuesday, as slowing growth across Asia slowed demand.

Export orders fell 2.6 percent in March from a year earlier, the government said. Orders from the rest of Asia — which typically account for about two-fifths of the island's export market — fell 17 percent.

For March, export orders totaled \$10.19 billion. That left orders for the first quarter at \$28.27 billion, down 2.7 percent from the first quarter of 1997.

"There are too many shadows to see how much more the turmoil will

hurt us," said Chang Yaw-tzong, a government economist.

The benchmark Taipei Stock Market Index fell 68.36 points, or 0.8 percent, to 8,440.20, its lowest level since February, as concern spread that earnings growth would slow at Advanced Semiconductor Co. and other blue-chip companies in Taiwan's computer and technology industries.

The latest figures show how much recessions in South Korea, Indonesia and Thailand — coupled with slowing growth in Japan, the region's largest economy — are squeezing Taiwan.

Taiwan's exporters are having trouble competing with rivals from South Korea and other Asian countries whose currencies have weakened in the past year. Orders for Taiwan-made machinery and textiles fell 22 percent last month.

With exports slowing, Taiwan's government may have difficulty hitting its growth target this year. Some analysts forecast that the government would cut its target to less than 5.8 percent from its current projection of 6.18 percent.

Still, orders rose in the island's technology industry, which includes companies such as Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Co. and Acer Inc.

In March, orders for computer-related and telecommunications products rose 7.1 percent, to \$3.34 billion, the government said.

# Japan Carmakers Ship More Abroad

**TOKYO** — Two of Japan's biggest carmakers cut domestic output in March and shipped more cars and trucks to Europe and the United States to counter plunging sales in Asia, reports released Tuesday showed.

Toyota Motor Corp., Japan's largest automaker, cut production in Japan by 15.8 percent in March

as exports to Asia fell by half and sales in Japan dived almost a quarter. Exports to Europe rose 38.7 percent and those to the United States rose 13.4 percent.

Nissan Motor Co., Japan's second-biggest carmaker, cut output in Japan by 15 percent, but Honda Motor Co., the third-biggest, reported that production for the month rose 5.8 percent.

NYSE					12 Month					12 Month				
Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close					High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100	High	Low	Stock
(Continued)					Low/Last					Low/Last				
IBM	110	108	112	110	108	112	IBM	3.60	4.5	15	108	108	112	IBM
Microsoft	55	54	56	55	54	56	Microsoft	2.00	12	15	54	54	56	Microsoft
Amazon.com	15	14	16	15	14	16	Amazon.com	0.00	15	15	14	14	16	Amazon.com
Apple	45	44	46	45	44	46	Apple	0.00	15	15	44	44	46	Apple
Google	25	24	26	25	24	26	Google	0.00	15	15	24	24	26	Google
Yahoo	20	19	21	20	19	21	Yahoo	0.00	15	15	19	19	21	Yahoo
Oracle	35	34	36	35	34	36	Oracle	0.00	15	15	34	34	36	Oracle
SAP	120	118	122	120	118	122	SAP	0.00	15	15	118	118	122	SAP
Sun	80	78	82	80	78	82	Sun	0.00	15	15	78	78	82	Sun
Verizon	40	39	41	40	39	41	Verizon	0.00	15	15	39	39	41	Verizon
WorldCom	30	29	31	30	29	31	WorldCom	0.00	15	15	29	29	31	WorldCom
Qwest	25	24	26	25	24	26	Qwest	0.00	15	15	24	24	26	Qwest
Sprint	20	19	21	20	19	21	Sprint	0.00	15	15	19	19	21	Sprint
AT&T	15	14	16	15	14	16	AT&T	0.00	15	15	14	14	16	AT&T
Time Warner	10	9	11	10	9	11	Time Warner	0.00	15	15	9	9	11	Time Warner
Home Depot	50	49	51	50	49	51	Home Depot	0.00	15	15	49	49	51	Home Depot
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Walgreens	15	14	16	15	14	16	Walgreens	0.00	15	15	14	14	16	Walgreens
CVS	10	9	11	10	9	11	CVS	0.00	15	15	9	9	11	CVS
Costco	5	4	6	5	4	6	Costco	0.00	15	15	4	4	6	Costco
Bed Bath & Beyond	4	3	5	4	3	5	Bed Bath & Beyond	0.00	15	15	3	3	5	Bed Bath & Beyond
Home Depot	3	2	4	3	2	4	Home Depot	0.00	15	15	2	2	4	Home Depot
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Target	1	0	2	1	0	2	Target	0.00	15	15	0	0	2	Target
Kroger	0	0	1	0	0	1	Kroger	0.00	15	15	0	0	1	Kroger
Walgreens	0	0	1	0	0	1	Walgreens	0.00	15	15	0	0	1	Walgreens
CVS	0	0	1	0	0	1	CVS	0.00	15	15	0	0	1	CVS
Costco	0	0	1	0	0	1	Costco	0.00	15	15	0	0	1	Costco
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CVS	0	0	1	0	0	1	CVS	0.00	15	15	0	0	1	CVS
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Kroger	0	0	1	0	0	1	Kroger	0.00	15	15	0	0	1	Kroger
Walgreens	0	0	1	0	0	1	Walgreens	0.00	15	15	0	0	1	Walgreens
CVS	0	0	1	0	0	1	CVS	0.00	15	15	0	0	1	CVS
Costco														



For information on how to list your fund, fax Katy Hourai at (33-1) 41 43 92 12 or E-mail: [funds@intloom.com](mailto:funds@intloom.com)  
To receive free daily quotations for your funds by E-mail: subscribe at [e-funds@intloom.com](mailto:e-funds@intloom.com)

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## WORLD ROUNDUP

### Bologna in Final

**BASKETBALL** Kinder Bologna overpowered Partizan Belgrade, 83-61, Tuesday to reach the championship final of the European club Final Four in Barcelona. Kinder shot 75 percent in the first half against the youngest of the four semifinalists and led, 45-25, at the interval. Zoran Savic, Kinder's Yugoslav center, led all scorers with 23 points. He scored 12 of his team's first 14 points. Police were involved in clashes with two sets of fans. The first disturbance just before the start of the game involved a contingent of about 100 Partizan supporters. Midway through the first half police clashed with a much larger set of AEK Athens fans waiting for their club's semifinal later in the evening against Benetton Treviso. (Reuters, AP)

### Carolina Can Have Gilbert

**FOOTBALL** The Washington Redskins on Tuesday cleared the way for the Carolina Panthers to acquire Sean Gilbert and make him the highest paid defender in the National Football League. Gilbert, who sat out the entire 1997 season in a salary dispute with the Redskins, signed an offer sheet from Carolina on Monday for a seven-year contract worth \$46.5 million. The Redskins notified the Panthers and the league office on Tuesday that they would not attempt to match the offer. Washington will receive two first-round draft choices from the Panthers for Gilbert, the third overall selection in the 1992 draft. Washington gave up one first-round pick to acquire Gilbert from the St. Louis Rams in 1996. (AP)

### Bierhoff Heads for Milan

**SOCCER** Oliver Bierhoff, a German international striker, said Tuesday that he was leaving Udinese and moving to AC Milan, another team in Italy's Serie A. Bierhoff, 29, has scored 99 goals in the Italian League. This season he has scored 21, second only to Ronaldo of Inter Milan. (AFP)

### Bugner Is Robbed

**BOXING** Thieves ransacked the home of Joe Bugner on Monday while the boxer was successfully defending his Australian heavyweight title. Bugner said the robbers must have waited for him and his wife to leave for the well-publicized fight before moving in. "The mongrels must have been watching me leave and then Marlene leave before climbing in through the laundry window," he said. (AFP)

### Drexler Willing to Wait

**BASKETBALL** Clyde Drexler, the Houston Rockets guard, will coach the University of Houston men's basketball team next season. Michael Jordan asked him if there is anything he can do to help him in his new job. Said Drexler: "Send me your kids." (LAT)

## An Odd French Twist To England's Coach

### Hoddle Praises Wenger and a 'Healer'

By Rob Hughes  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Maybe the waters between France and England run more shallow than we think. As England's Premier League season enters its final month, there is every reason to salute a French coach who, by

trusting in his countrymen and implanting them one by one into the Arsenal team, is close to winning the two major prizes of English soccer.

Needless to say, because the English have been so sure for so long that nobody could teach them soccer, Arsene Wenger, the Arsenal coach, is an unusual man. Arguably more unusual still is Glenn Hoddle, once the overlooked talent of the England national team. Hoddle went to France to express himself as a player. In Monaco, while Hoddle nursed himself back from a serious knee injury, the seeds were sown in his mind that the ways of Wenger, then the Monaco coach, were more thorough, more serious, more enlightened than the English game of kick and rush.

Now, Hoddle has risen to become coach of the England national team. On Monday, seated before 150 journalists, Hoddle both praised his mentor and spoke with a missionary zeal that scared some of his audience. It would, he said, be foolish to eschew the ways of Wenger, which have this season elevated Arsenal above even Manchester United.

No one argued, though perhaps they should. For the holistic method of stop-watch training, of diet, of medicine and of correct habits and lifestyle, are working so convincingly in an Arsenal squad which, from midfield forwards, has scant drops of English blood. Wenger acknowledged when he arrived in 1996 that Arsenal had a Bulldog spirit left to him by the former trainer.

To his credit, the Frenchman did not try to tear that apart, nor to impose his will too quickly. I guess in France, too, they say if it ain't broke, don't fix it. However, import by import, Wenger built toward a future that is not so much cosmopolitan as Franco-Dutch. Six of his new players are from France, and the gifted duo of Patrick Vieira and Emmanuel Petit form the most volatile, most imaginative core to any English side.

Wenger inherited Dennis Bergkamp, the Dutchman whose sharp brain and technique have made him England's player of the year. The coach then paid £7 million (\$11.7 million) for Marc Overmars, a Dutch winger. Wenger was mocked. Overmars was a crock and everyone knew it. Except it was Wenger's way once, with Hoddle, to nurse a precious talent back to greatness, and he has delivered Overmars to the Dutch in fine fettle for the World Cup.

Maybe Hoddle wishes his old friend had not done this. For what if the Dutch meet the English in the World Cup, and Overmars, Bergkamp and Ronald De Boer — who may well be another Arsenal recruit this summer — torment England as they have before? What if, by tampering with the World Cup just 50 days and nights away, Hoddle reduces England's strengths?

Rhetorical questions, maybe. But there is more, and it runs deeper than changing a sportsman's physical preparation. For

### World Cup Tickets Go on Sale by Phone

Agence France-Presse  
PARIS — The World Cup organizers start selling 110,000 tickets by telephone Wednesday at 8 A.M. (0600 GMT). Tickets are for the first round (except for the opener between Brazil and Scotland) and second round. Callers are limited to four tickets a match and 16 in total. The telephone numbers are: Inside France: 08 03 00 19 98, Outside France: 00 33 1 49 87 53 54.

Hoddle is a believer in the power of God and in the values of faith healing.

Imagine either the zealotry, or the sheer courage, of this comparatively young English coach announcing to the media that a woman called Eileen Drewery had "seen" three quarters of his chosen England players and, whether in the mind or the body, had dispensed the Lord's healing powers to some of them. She had, Hoddle claimed, saved the careers of two players at Swindon Town, the first club he coached.

She has counseled Paul Gascoigne, the Hoddle of his time in that he is blessed with skills beyond English contemporaries. She had helped Ian Wright dampen some of the fire of his ill temper. Sadly, miracles are beyond her now, and neither Gascoigne nor Wright is likely to take the field in Wednesday's friendly match at Wembley against Portugal. Mrs. Drewery has taken up the post of resident healer at the team hotel and will carry on her work in weeks leading to the June 10 start of the World Cup.

"If you ridicule it," contends Hoddle, "then you have a closed mind. Keep your minds open, go and see her yourself."

Hoddle declines to countenance, possibly by closing his own mind, the thought that if some players adopt the faith and some are as skeptical, the lady of higher presence — in a male environment any female presence can become counterproductive.

There have been lewd jokes: Hoddle is above letting that deter him. There are thinly disguised reports of some players who perhaps shun alternative medicine falling in the selection order.

Wenger at Arsenal and Hoddle of England are opening minds to a better tactical approach, one that is preferable to England's way of belting the ball high and physically chasing down the opponents. England has bullied the French on soccer fields in times past; but now soccer is "coming home" in a way that no modern observer could quite anticipate.

Wenger will speak to a soccer convention Thursday at the Stade de France. His theme is Management of the Modern Day Millionaire Players. If time permits, he might recall that more than half a century ago Herbert Chapman, an Arsenal manager, regularly crossed the Channel to play, around every Armistice Day, an Arsenal versus Racing Paris fixture. He felt we could learn from one another.

Rob Hughes is sports correspondent of The Times of London



Thomas Muster losing to Carlos Moya in straight sets Tuesday in the first round of the Monte Carlo Open.

## Agassi Wins, but Next Is Sampras

### 55-Minute Rout of Martin Brings On Early Showdown in Monte Carlo

The Associated Press  
MONTE CARLO — Andre Agassi routed Todd Martin, 6-2, 6-1, in 55 minutes Tuesday in the opening round of the Monte Carlo Open and faces Pete Sampras next.

"To play Pete so early in the tournament is unsettling," Agassi said. "He's the guy you always expect to play at the end of the tournament. Now my ranking is not so high and I have to play him early. I have to come ready to play. Obviously he's expecting a tough match. If I don't come out strong, I am going to have problems."

Agassi played just one match on clay last year, in Atlanta. He lost in the second round at the French Open two years ago, the last time he played on the slow surface in a European tournament. Martin had just won a tournament on

clay in Barcelona. Yet, Agassi, who has lost just four tournament matches this year, had an easy time against Martin.

"I just played well," Agassi said. He belted winners from the back of the court and was aided by 27 unforced errors by Martin.

Sampras lost the No. 1 ranking to Marcelo Rios after the Chilean beat Agassi in the Lipton final. But Rios is injured and not playing in Monte Carlo, and Sampras can regain the No. 1 ranking if he does well this week. He has to get past Agassi first.

"We're both used to playing each other on quicker courts where we know each other's game," Agassi said. "You know, it's not the best surface for him certainly."

Agassi, whose latest loss this year in a tournament was to Rios, said he was

surprised to see Rios gain the top ranking.

"Certainly he never seemed to me like he was No. 1 potential," he said. "But he's proved me wrong, and many other people."

Two former champions had different results in first-round matches Tuesday. Thomas Muster, a three-time winner and a former No. 1, lasted less than an hour, falling to the 14th-seeded Carlos Moya, 6-0, 6-3.

Muster is ranked 27th in the world. He was briefly ranked No. 1 in early 1996 but has not won a tournament in more than a year, since victory on the hard courts of the Lipton tournament.

Sergi Bruguera, twice a champion at Monte Carlo, advanced to the second round with a 6-1, 1-6, 7-5 victory over Jeff Tarango.

## Once Again, Bulls Are the Team to Beat

The Associated Press  
The oddsmakers like the Chicago Bulls a lot. Their coach likes their chances even better.

"We're better than we were last year going into the playoffs," said Phil Jackson, adding that his team in the 1995-96 season might have been sharper than this year's version.

Jackson gave his team a day off on Monday before his preparations began for the Bulls to make a run at a third consecutive championship, which would bring their second so-called three-peat of this decade.

The Bulls won consecutive titles in 1991, 1992 and 1993, and Jackson said that the '93 team "didn't look half as good as this team."

The oddsmakers agree. They've installed the Bulls as a 1-2 favorite to win the championship, as well as a 1-5 bet to capture the Eastern Conference title.

The best-of-five first-round series of the playoffs begin Thursday with four games: Atlanta at Charlotte, Cleveland at Indiana, Houston at Utah and San Antonio at Phoenix. Four more series begin Friday night: New Jersey at Chicago, New York at Miami, Minnesota at Seattle and Portland at Los Angeles.

The Bulls will have the homecourt advantage through the Eastern Conference finals, and the odds are against anyone beating them — at least until the finals. Chicago will be playing a Nets team that slumped over the second half of the season and didn't qualify for the playoffs until the 11th hour.

For most of the Nets, including Coach John Calipari, it will be their first playoff game. For Jordan, on the other hand, the match Friday night will be the 159th postseason contest of his career.

"The critical point is easy for these guys to focus on," Jackson said, referring to his team. "They are veterans who have been in playoffs, and they know a team has to beat you in a majority of games. That makes this team enormously confident to take on comers and beat them in a series. It's entirely different from the regular season."

From the East, the Pacers, Heat, Hawks and Knicks also bring a good degree of playoff experience into the first round, although flaws are apparent in each team.

In the West, there are three 60-victory clubs in Utah, Seattle and the Los Angeles Lakers. "And there's also two 56-win teams right behind us in Phoenix and San Antonio," said George Karl, coach of the SuperSonics. "I think everybody knows there are five teams that can come out of the West. Utah is the top dog, Seattle and L.A. are next, the other two are a step below us."

The Bulls have dominated the league over the past two seasons, going a combined 141-23 in the regular season and 30-7 in the postseason.

Their record dropped to 62-20 this year, the same mark as the defending Western Conference champions, the Utah Jazz. But the Bulls built their record playing through the distractions of Jordan threatening to retire, Scottie Pippen vowing to leave, Jackson finishing out a one-year contract and General Manager Jerry Krause trading Jason Caffey.

"This is really the time when guys who have that experience shine and look forward to it, polish up their game," Jackson said. "I don't know how easy it will be, but we'll let the West decide their neighborhood rivalry, we'll decide

ours and then we'll get on with the championship round."

Some of the other playoff teams made news Monday with roster moves.

The Knicks placed Patrick Ewing on the club's active roster even though they don't expect him to be ready for the first round. Chris Dudley, out with a broken foot since February, also was activated.

Calipari said he expected Jayson Williams, the All-Star forward who has been out with a broken thumb, to play unless doctors determined that playing now could jeopardize his career.

Pat Riley left Brent Barry off the Heat's playoff roster, along with Antonio Lang and Rex Walters. Barry was acquired in the much-criticized trade for Isaac Austin, who was Miami's best backup center.

A hernia could keep Charles Barkley of the Rockets sidelined against the Jazz. "I know that I couldn't play today," Barkley said following practice on Monday. "Right now, I don't know how much help I'll be."

### Fitch Fired by L.A. Clippers

The Los Angeles Clippers fired Coach Bill Fitch on Monday, two days after the team finished a disastrous 17-65 season, wire services reported from Los Angeles.

Elgin Baylor, the Clippers' vice president of basketball operations, said he planned to compile a list of candidates for the coaching job within a few days.

Fitch, 63, coached the Clippers for four years, compiling a 99-229 record. Last season the team made the playoffs with a 36-46 mark.

The Clippers' record this year was the third worst in the NBA, behind only Denver and Toronto. (AP, LAT)

## Iran Hands Ivic His Ultimate Challenge

By Andrew Warshaw  
Special to the Herald Tribune

PARIS — Tomislav Ivic thought time had caught up with him after 13 different jobs in a successful coaching career. Then came the phone call he had longed for: Was he available to coach a team going to the World Cup soccer finals in France?

"I was at home in Croatia working as vice-president of Hadji Split when a call came in from the president of the Iranian soccer federation. I didn't hesitate. This isn't about money; my contract is only for four months. It's the ultimate challenge, the gold medal."

Iran went for Ivic as soon as it qualified for the finals. He replaced Valdeir Vieira, a Brazilian, on Jan. 17. Ivic has coached the national teams of Croatia and the United Arab Emirates as well as a string of top European clubs including Ajax Amsterdam, Anderlecht of Brussels, Atletico Madrid, Benfica of Lisbon and Porto. He has won seven national soccer championships in four different countries.

Why was he at so many clubs? "Because I can't sit still," Ivic said. "It's a fantastic feeling when you apply your knowledge to a variety of different cultures and it works every time. Having said that, this is the hardest challenge. It's different from anything I have done before."

"I said, when I became vice-president of Hadji Split a couple of years ago that I was through with coaching. I'd been everywhere there was to go. But soccer is like a drug to me; it's in my blood. When the offer to manage Iran came along, I realized what I was doing was not enough."

"Every coach dreams of taking a team to the World Cup finals. The fact that Iran are inexperienced and in a very tough group only makes the challenge more exciting."

Ivic, speaks six languages. He talks with the Iranian players in English. He

### One Defeat and Tehran Turns Hostile

The Associated Press

TEHRAN — The Iranian press rounded on Tomislav Ivic, the national coach, Tuesday after Iran lost, 2-0, to Hungary on Monday in Tehran.

Papers criticized Ivic for his "bad tactics," which they said were to blame for the loss seven weeks before the World Cup in France.

"Unfortunately Mr. Ivic, you have failed this new test," said the government daily Akhbar.

The Akhbar called on Iranian federation officials to "ponder closely

the reasons behind this failure."

Iran was booed off by Antila Koros and Bela Iles gave the Hungarians victory in a four-nation tournament at the Azadi stadium.

During the game fans chanted for Brazilian Valdeir (Badu) Vieira, who had taken the team through to the World Cup finals at the expense of Australia.

The other World Cup team playing in this warmup tournament also lost Monday. Macedonia beat Jamaica, 2-1. Iran will play Jamaica on Wednesday.

played in exactly the right spirit. I see no reason why our game against the States will not be equally correct."

At 63, Ivic, knows his first World Cup will also probably be his only one.

"I know how to adapt in certain situations and I know exactly how I am going to play against each of our opponents in France. I certainly have one or two little secrets which I am not prepared to reveal now."

Ivic was born in Yugoslavia but is now a Croat. Yugoslavia will be Iran's first World Cup opponent.

"They have players who can turn a game in a second," he said, "but I also know their weak points. Football can sometimes produce miracles. Fourteen times out of 15, Iran would lose to Yugoslavia. Who's to say this won't be the one meeting that favors us? Every-one says we have no chance. I hope the Yugoslavs feel the same way."

Ivic cannot resist returning to the match against the United States.

"Listen," he said, "When we play America, it will be a great opportunity to show the world that soccer is the best ambassador for peace."

## Ones to Watch: NHL Playoff Goalies

The Associated Press

A hot goalie can take a team a long way in the playoffs, according to conventional hockey wisdom. But how important is goalie experience?

Some of the starting goalies in this year's playoffs don't have that much, while others — like Philadelphia's Sean Burke — have been absent for a long time from the National Hockey League's postseason tournament.

"It's the playoffs and I haven't played there in a while," Burke said. "I'm happy I'm just getting a chance to start." Burke, making his third playoff appearance in 10 years, was selected to start over veteran Ron Hextall against Buffalo in the opening of the Flyers' first-round Eastern Conference series on Wednesday.

Burke has appeared in 19 playoff games, but none since 1990 when he played for New Jersey and lost both decisions. By comparison, Hextall has played in 92 playoff games, winning the Conn Smythe Trophy as the Most Valuable Player of the 1987 playoffs.

"We just felt Sean was a little better

— not a lot better — down the stretch," Flyers coach Roger Neilson said.

In other first-round games Wednesday, Ottawa travels to New Jersey while Boston plays at Washington in the East. In the West, Phoenix is at Detroit, San Jose at Dallas, and Edmonton at Colorado. On Thursday, Los Angeles plays at St. Louis in the West, and Montreal is at Pittsburgh in the East.

Hextall was hardly surprised by Nielson's decision to start Burke. Hextall was 0-6 since his last victory, on March 16, while Burke was 7-3 in his last 10. "I knew I had to earn it," Hextall said. "I guess I had to play better in the last month."

Burke's opposite number will be Dominik Hasek, generally recognized as the top goalie in hockey this season. Hasek, who led the NHL with 13 shutouts, will be making his seventh playoff appearance.

The Senators will most likely go with Damian Rhodes to start against New Jersey. He and teammate Ron Tugnutt have appeared in just 11 NHL playoff games between them, as opposed to 48

by Martin Brodeur, the New Jersey goalie. Brodeur won the Stanley Cup in 1995. Still, the Senators are not awed by the Devils, who finished first in the Eastern Conference, 24 points ahead.

"We feel we can beat any team that we're playing right now," said Rhodes, whose Senators split four games with the Devils during the season. "They're pretty stingy, and they have the experience. We just have to go in there and work hard."

The Boston-Washington series features goalies with little playoff experience. Byron Dafoe of the Bruins has played only three playoff games, and Olaf Kolzig, the Washington goalie, has played seven.

"We don't have a lot of playoff experience," said Boston coach Pat Burns. "We're a very young team. Washington, in my mind, is one of the best teams in the conference right now."

The Kings' Stephane Fiset and the Coyotes' Nikolai Khabibulin are two other goalies with relatively little playoff experience. Fiset has played in six games and Khabibulin 13.



## SPORTS

Jays Blow  
A 2-0 Lead  
Over YanksMyers Fails to Hold Lead  
For First Time in a Year

The Associated Press  
Randy Myers blew a save chance for the first time in almost a year as the New York Yankees defeated host Toronto, 3-2, in 11 innings.

Myers, successful on 45 of 46 save opportunities last year and 37 in a row overall, took over in the ninth inning of Monday night's game with a 2-0 lead. But the Yankees quickly tied it, landing

## BASEBALL ROUNDUP

Myers with his first failed save attempt since last May 3.

"Last year is last year and doesn't help us this year," Myers said.

In the 11th, Chuck Knoblauch tripled with two outs, and Derek Jeter hit a routine grounder to second base. The ball glanced off Tony Fernandez's glove, however, for an error that scored the winning run.

"If Tony Fernandez got a thousand more of those balls, he probably wouldn't miss another," Jeter said. "He's one of the greatest infielders of all time, but everyone makes errors; everyone makes mistakes."

The Yankees won for the ninth time in 10 games and stopped the Blue Jays' three-game winning streak.

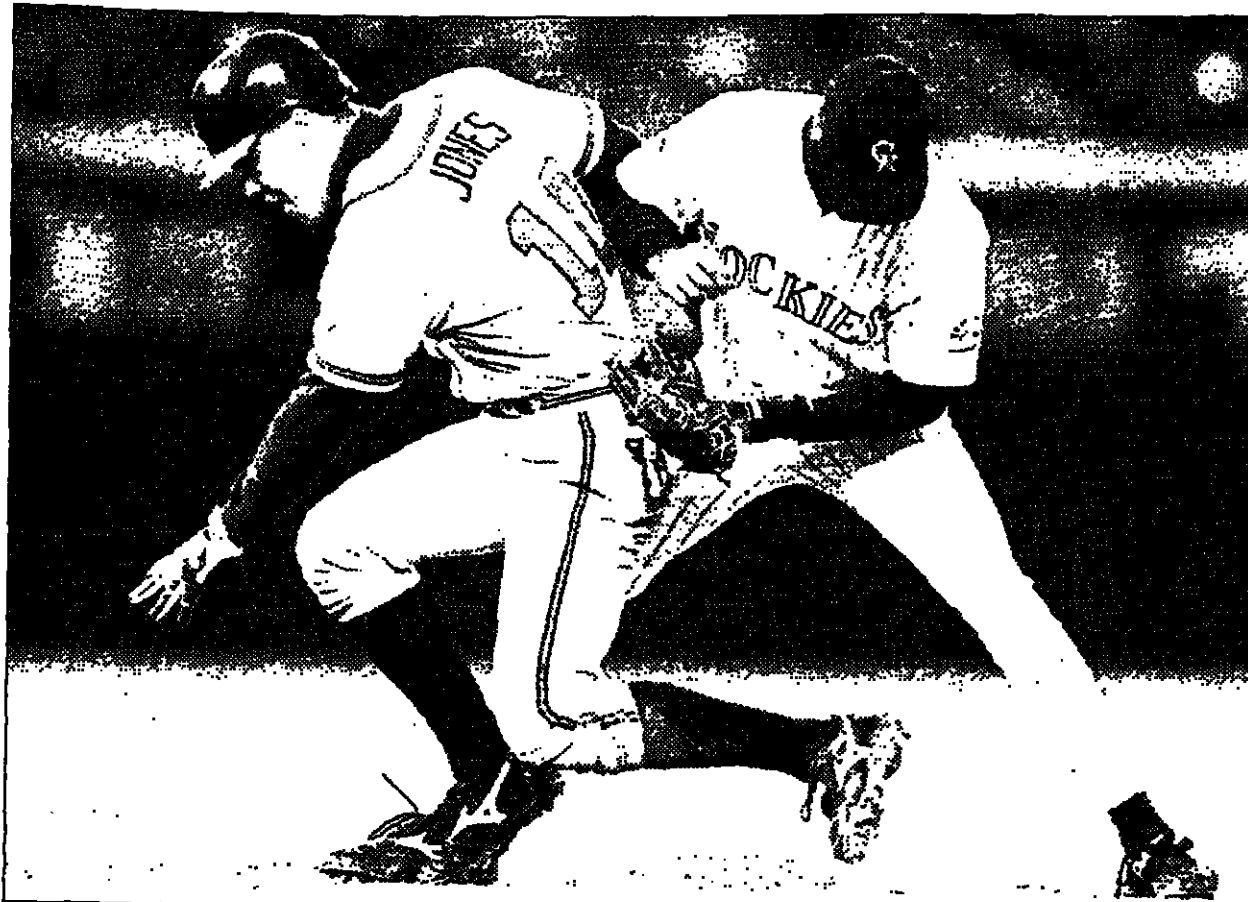
Shut out on four hits by Woody Williams and Dan Plesac for eight innings in Toronto, New York broke through in the ninth against Myers.

Chad Curtis opened with an infield single, and Jorge Posada followed with a run-scoring double. Scott Brosius singled, and Knoblauch's force-out drove in a run that tied it at 2-2.

Mariners 8, Royals 7 In Seattle, Ken Griffey hit his league-leading eighth home run and had a sacrifice fly in the sixth inning that broke a 7-7 tie as Seattle defeated Kansas City for its sixth straight victory.

Randy Johnson struggled again, failing to get through the fourth inning and leaving him with an earned-run average of 7.46. But the Mariners overcame an early 7-1 deficit, helped by four hits from Alex Rodriguez.

Rodriguez is 11-for-14 with eight ex-



Chipper Jones of the Braves arriving safely at second base ahead of a tag by Neifi Perez, the Rockies' shortstop.

tra-base hits in his last three games. Rich Amaral also hit a home run for Seattle.

Angels 4, Orioles 3 In Anaheim, on a play that reminded many of the 1996 playoffs between the Orioles and Yankees when a 12-year-old boy reached over the wall to grab the ball, a fan grabbed a drive by Baltimore's B.J. Surhoff in the first inning, and the call again went against Baltimore.

Surhoff circled the bases when first-base umpire Greg Kosc ruled a home run, but the call was reversed. Replays showed the ball would not have cleared the 18-foot fence.

In the 1996 series game, the Yankees were given a home run. The Orioles also lost an argument later when Kosc ruled that a fan had not interfered with a triple down the right-field line by Garret Anderson of Anaheim. After the game, Baltimore put center fielder Brady Anderson on the disabled list because of neck and shoulder trouble.

Athletics 3, Twins 2 In Oakland, Ben Grieve, one of baseball's best rookies, hit a two-run homer in the eighth inning to give the A's a victory over Minnesota.

Jason Giambi singled with one out, and Grieve connected with two out for

his first home run of the season.

Red Sox 6, Indians 5 The Red Sox won their own version of the Boston Marathon when Mo Vaughn singled home the deciding run with two out in the 11th inning.

Jim Leyritz hit a tying homer in the ninth for Boston. The Red Sox went on to win their last at-bat for the sixth time this season, beating Cleveland to complete a 9-1 home stand.

In National League games:

Braves 7, Rockies 5 In Denver, the Colorado Rockies scored five runs off Atlanta ace Greg Maddux and chased closer Mark Wohlers from the game in the ninth.

Andruw Jones homered twice. Chipper Jones had a two-run double, and Maddux survived a rocky seventh inning as the Atlanta Braves beat the Rockies.

Maddux, who had yielded only two earned runs in his first 32 innings this season, for a 0.56 earned run average that was the lowest in the National League, was roughed up for five runs, four of them earned, in eight innings. His ERA rose to 1.35, but Maddux still got the win. He also had eight assists and

started two double plays.

After allowing only one run through six innings, Maddux gave up four in the seventh, including pinch-hitter John Vander Wal's three-run homer that cut Atlanta's lead to 7-5.

The Rockies loaded the bases in the ninth on three walks, two by Wohlers. But Kerry Ligtenberg — the Braves' third pitcher of the inning — retired Mike Lansing and Neifi Perez on pop-ups for his first save of the season.

The Rockies concluded their longest home stand of the season with a 3-10 record.

Diamondbacks 15, Marlins 4 Devon White drove in three runs through his former club as Arizona, an expansion team, won a series for the first time.

The host Diamondbacks beat Livan Hernandez in winning for the third time in four games against Florida.

Relief pitcher Greg Olson hit a two-run homer in Arizona's highest-scoring game of the season. The Diamondbacks have won four of their last five overall.

White, traded to the Diamondbacks by Florida in November, had a sacrifice fly in the third inning and keyed a five-run fourth with a two-run single.

A Snub by Pittsburgh  
Turned Out Just Fine

Unable to Buy Pirates, He Got the Padres

By Murray Chass  
New York Times Service

For a man who runs a major league baseball team, Larry Lucchino has an unusual memento in his home: a pair of bronzed, steel-tipped steelworker's shoes.

"I worked in the mills a couple of years when I was in college," Lucchino, a Pittsburgh native, said. "My parents gave me the shoes."

Rose and Dominic Lucchino obviously didn't want their son to forget his roots as he traveled the country running baseball teams, first the Baltimore Orioles and now the San Diego Padres. The Lucchinos had a chance to get their younger son home, but when he headed a group that tried to buy the Pittsburgh Pirates several years ago, city officials were attracted to another prospective buyer, who ultimately changed his mind.

Lucchino, meanwhile, shifted his sights, as well as sites, and joined John Moores in the purchase of the Padres, who today have the best record in the majors — 14 victories and 3 losses. The Pirates, last in the National League's Central Division at 7-11, remain in the early stages of rebuilding from the teams that won three consecutive division championships at the start of this decade.

"The big difference between San Diego and Pittsburgh is not temperature or sunshine," said Lucchino, 52, who is the Padres' president and chief executive officer. "It's John Moores. He has given us a capacity to do things out here that I don't think we would have had in Pittsburgh. It would have been a much harder pull in Pittsburgh."

At \$45 million, the Padres have a payroll that is three and a half times the Pirates' payroll.

"You need financial wherewithal, given the unbalanced player compensation system we have," Lucchino said. "With John's willingness, we were able to invest some serious dollars in rebuilding the team. In Pittsburgh we would've had to do it with marketing and an attendance resurgence."

There are some real similarities in the state of the franchises. Both of us have new ball parks coming down the

line, knock on wood, and we're both involved in rebuilding."

But the Padres are in position to make a positive statement in their campaign for a new stadium. The season is only three weeks old, but they already have a big lead in the National League West.

A 14-3 record tends to create that kind of separation from the rest of the division.

"People are very excited about this team," Lucchino said. "It's an appealing team, one that wins in dramatic ways."

The Padres, off to the best 17-game start in their history, have played five one-run games and won them all. They have played two extra-inning games and won them both. They have won five games in which they trailed after five innings.

They have hit home runs in a club-record 13 consecutive games. They pitched three shutouts in a five-game span, including two 1-0 decisions. They have won all seven games played at home. They have had an eight-game winning streak and took an 11-of-12 streak into their game against the Cubs in Chicago on Tuesday.

Their starting pitcher Tuesday night was Kevin Brown, whose acquisition by the Padres' general manager, Kevin Towers, from the downsizing Florida Marlins epitomizes what Lucchino meant when he talked about Moores's money.

Brown has a \$4.8 million salary this season and can be a free agent afterward, meaning that the Padres, in effect, are renting him for the year. But if they like him, the Padres most likely will offer Brown lots of money to stay. And what's not to like about a pitcher who has a 2-0 record and a 1.53 earned run average in four starts?

"We have bolstered the pitching staff with Brown and Stewart," Lucchino said, referring to Dave Stewart, the new take-no-prisoners pitching coach. "Overall we have a better pitching staff with strong, dynamic leadership."

Last season, the Padres had a dreadful pitching record. Only the Colorado Rockies' pitchers were worse, and they pitch on another planet at Coors Field. In this young season, the Padres are in the upper half of the pitching standing.

## SCOREBOARD

## BASEBALL

## MAJOR LEAGUE STANDINGS

## AMERICAN LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	12	6	.667	0
New York	10	8	.556	2
Tampa Bay	10	8	.556	2
Baltimore	11	7	.611	1
Toronto	8	10	.444	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	11	6	.647	0
Kansas City	8	11	.421	4
Minnesota	7	11	.389	5
Chicago	6	10	.375	6
Detroit	4	12	.250	8

## WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Seattle	11	5	.688	0
San Francisco	9	7	.562	2
Anaheim	8	9	.471	3
Oakland	8	12	.400	4

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	11	6	.647	0
Atlanta	12	7	.632	0
Philadelphia	7	9	.438	5
Pittsburgh	5	12	.294	8
Florida	4	14	.286	9

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	12	5	.706	0
San Diego	12	6	.667	0

## MINNESOTA

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Minnesota	010	000	010	2
Oakland	010	000	020	3

## KANSAS CITY

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Kansas City	202	210	000	3
Seattle	001	223	000	8

## HONOLULU

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Honolulu	001	102	000	13
Colorado	001	000	000	5

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

## WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Diego	000	201	000	5
San Francisco	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	000	201	000	5
San Diego	001	010	010	4

## JAPANESE LEAGUES

## CENTRAL LEAGUE

Team	W	L	T	Pct.	GB
Hiroshima	11	5	—	.688	0
Yokohama	9	6	—	.600	1

## PACIFIC LEAGUE

Team	W	L	T	Pct.	GB
Yokohama	11	5	—	.688	0
Yokohama	9	6	—	.600	1

## NATIONAL LEAGUE

Team	W	L	T	Pct.	GB
Hiroshima	11	5	—	.688	0
Yokohama	9	6	—	.600	1

## CENTRAL LEAGUE

Team	W	L	T	Pct.	GB
Hiroshima	11	5	—	.688	0
Yokohama	9	6	—	.600	1



## OBSERVER

## Join the Bamboozled

By Russell Baker

**NEW YORK** — A dental surgeon spent an hour in my jaw and sent me off with a prescription. I presented it at a pharmacy. The pharmacist presented me with 28 pills. "That will be \$72," he said.

Bleeding too copiously to bargain, I flew home with my pharmaceutical treasure to be among loved ones. Who thinks of money at such times?

After two days I felt capable of demanding justice from the drug industry. "See here," I said to the pharmacist. "The \$72 charge for these mere, common antibiotic pills is obviously wrong," and calmly explained:

My pill insurance covers 80 percent of pill prices. If \$72 was 20 percent of the price, the base price of these particular pills would have had to be \$360.

I know that \$360 pills are not unheard of, but have always assumed that such bankroll busters are prescribed only for such desperate stuff as Myron's Syndrome or Zambesi River fever, not for aching jaw.

He was a nice pharmacist, and gentle, and gently he told me a typical story of the American insurance industry:

My doctor's prescription had called for the brand-name version of a pill that also happened to be available in much cheaper generic form.

My insurance company had declined, via the pharmacist's computer, to cover the brand-name price. It would, however, pay its share of the generic pill's price. The \$72 was the difference between the price of the brand-name stuff and the generic variety.

In short, I had been chis-

eled. Bamboozled. A corporate finagler had played me for a sucker.

The pharmacist said it did no good to be bitter. The Congress of the United States had four years ago placed the nation's health-care problems in the care of the insurance industry. Doctors could still propose, but it is the insurance industry that disposes.

I dwell on this incident not just because I'm parsimonious — all right, cheap if you're the kind who takes corners at high speed in your BMW while talking to brokers on your cell phone.

Besides that, it is another piece of accumulating evidence that the country is growing a new class of people — the cheated classes — who are being institutionally victimized at a moment when government no longer cares much to interfere with victimizers.

My own experience includes two recent refusals by Medicare to cover lab work a doctor thought necessary. You can appeal Medicare rulings, of course. Call a 1-800 number. Anybody here know where 1-800 is located? Anybody ever hear of a real human person living in 1-800?

O.K., why nag Medicare? It's going broke. But what about this corporation — a private publishing firm — that refuses to send along royalties that were due a year ago?

Why do pleading letters receive no answer? Why does the phone fail to produce anyone who knows what I'm talking about? It is sad to think that I — a truly decent, kind person, in my estimation — should be consigned to the cheated class.

Yet, listen to this one — Ah, cheated again! My time is up.

New York Times Service

## Top of the World, Ma! Seinfeld Looks Back

By Lloyd Grove  
Washington Post Service

**STUDIO CITY, California** — As he faces the apocalypse, Jerry Seinfeld takes an inventory of his emotions.

It's early evening on the set of "Seinfeld," which began life nine years ago as a quirky little sitcom "about nothing," and is ending it a few weeks from now as a television colossus. Seinfeld has granted a reporter unlimited access to the filming of the show's second-to-last installment.

"Because tomorrow we wrap this episode," he says in his trademark Long Islandese, "and the day after that I'm writing the finale with Larry." — Larry David, Seinfeld's creative alter ego. "Yep, I think I'm starting to feel something. I think it will really hit me when Larry and I sit down. When the cap comes off that pea. I think I'm gonna know: The jig is up."

Julia Louis-Dreyfus, who plays Elaine, predicts that the final curtain will hit the 43-year-old Seinfeld harder than anyone.

"This has been Jerry's life," she says in a make-up trailer. "He's always thinking about the next episode. This has been it for him. You know, he doesn't go home to a wife and kids. He goes home to a blank piece of paper."

Jason Alexander, who plays George, isn't so sure. "I couldn't tell you what motivates Jerry, what drives him," he says between scenes. "I think Jerry is very driven about this project because it's so much a part of him. His name has become a noun and a verb. It's so much a defining instrument of what he thinks is funny, what he thinks is important, what he wants to focus on. But if somebody said to me, 'Stand up and tell us what Jerry would do here, what Jerry would say here,' I couldn't do that. Because I don't know."

Michael Richards, better known as Kramer, accentuates the positive. "What you're witnessing here is the final signature to a great portrait — a great work of art," he declaims as he devours his lunch, a hunk of barbecued chicken. "The artist doesn't cry. I'll never be able to do another painting after this. It's a good painting. It's finished. That's it."

And David dismisses the idea that anyone, let alone Seinfeld, is about to get carried away.

"The show's managed to survive for nine years without anybody hugging," says the tall, high-strung comedy writer who quit producing the show two seasons ago but has

returned to write its swan song. "The characters that we're writing never express any emotion — except probably anger. So I don't know how worked up we're gonna get."

And yet the myriad arbiters of American pop culture are plenty worked up. In various media outlets, they have already greeted the impending demise of the Emmy-winning "Seinfeld" — when it is still television's top-rated comedy and the linchpin of NBC's mighty Thursday night lineup — as though it were a giant asteroid hurtling toward Earth.

Since the star announced in December that this season would be his last — cutting NBC off from a torrent of revenue — something like hysteria has been abroad in the land.

Judging from all the hype, it is clear that the prosaic inanities of the four dysfunctional Manhattanites who personify "Seinfeld" have captured the hearts and minds of a nation.

"The amazing thing," says Warren Littlefield, president of NBC Entertainment, "is that the show hasn't peaked. In its ninth year, it's actually still growing."

"Seinfeld" is regularly attracting an audience of 32 million, a third of the people watching television in the United States at 9 o'clock on Thursday night. The final show — for which NBC is reportedly charging advertisers \$2 million for a 30-second spot — is expected to draw an astronomical 75 million viewers. No wonder fevered NBC executives offered Seinfeld a rumored \$5 million an episode (five times his current salary) to stick around for a 10th season.

"No one will ever spend this much again," Seinfeld says as he surveys the organized pandemonium of a Puerto Rican Day parade that marches through the plot of the penultimate episode. "You're looking at television history here — when you have an

audience large enough to bring in advertising rates high enough to spend this kind of money" — about \$150,000 a day for production costs alone. "But network television viewership is dropping every year and it's all disintegrating."

"Now here we are in our ninth season, and creatively we're still doing well. To have that and to still be the No. 1 show, with our ratings still going up, it's really completely anomalous. Most shows are dried up creatively by seven or eight years. It's just hard to do these things. Believe me, I know."

On the third day of shooting for the "Puerto Rican Day" show, Seinfeld arises at 4 A.M. to make the 6 o'clock call at Universal. It is a grueling day, requiring steady focus on the part of cast and crew to bring off some very complicated comedy and elaborate camera work. Seinfeld — who won't go home until after 10 P.M. — pushes himself to completion, and everybody else falls in behind. Seinfeld resists an assertion that the end will be a sad occasion. "I don't think so," he says.

Yes it will. "No, it's a good thing. It's a death really."

"But death can be a very positive event — the celebration of a good life," Seinfeld says. "It's greedy to hope to live forever. That's greed! That's egoism!" He eyes his interlocutor warily and admonishes: "You should check yourself out."

On the fourth day of the shoot, the filming resumes on Stage 9 at the CBS lot. Behind the cameras, Seinfeld, the director Andy Ackerman and a few writers sitting in canvas chairs burst into loud guffaws as Richards dances his comic two-step. With every new take, as Richards refines and escalates his performance, they laugh harder.

"This is the fun part," he admits. "When you're on the stage, you don't see any of the



Seinfeld and some of his staff on the set.

audience. All that already happened, back in the writing offices. The stories that don't work and the scenes that aren't funny and the dialogue that isn't right — that's the pain."

Seinfeld is in a reflective mood.

"I know the whole game," he says proudly. "I know the agent's game, the network game, the producing game. The celebrity game? 'Yep, the whole thing. The awards game, the negotiating game. Do you realize that I'm in every camp when there's a negotiation? I know what everybody's agenda is. I've had a seat at every table in the whole world of television."

Suddenly he looks weary. "There's a tremendous amount of padding beneath the surface that you don't see," he says. "At this level, the amounts of money are huge — huge! — for everyone involved, and that translates into strong feelings. Because people relate to money and they gauge themselves by money. So you're dealing with primal forces of human nature — and the bigger the money, the bigger the forces."

"You have some very tough, serious businessmen on the other side, the producers and the network people and parent-company General Electric people. I deal with all of them separately. That's the stuff nobody knows about. If I was at home, watching the show as a fan, I would think, 'Why would he want to stop doing that? That looks like fun! So easy. Just lean against the kitchen counter, say a joke and everyone laughs.'"

Seinfeld says that last December, when he was in the throes of deciding whether to continue, "it was suggested to me by some executives. 'What if we did a survey of the public and asked them their opinion?' And I said, 'No, that's my job.' If you're the pilot of the plane, you don't ask the passengers what you should do next. The audience wants to feel that someone's in control."

"The whole system," of television market research "is ridiculous," he continues, pointing out that "Seinfeld's" initial test audiences hated the show. "It's retarded. You don't ask people what they think. You tell them what to think. That's your job. That's what being a creative person is. And if they don't like it, fine. But you don't try and hedge your bet."

Yet the business of prime-time network television, circa 1998, seems largely to be driven by bet-hedgers hooked on market research.

"Yeah," Seinfeld agrees. "That's why it stinks."

## PEOPLE

**THE** media and entertainment mogul Rupert Murdoch has separated from his wife, Anna, after 31 years of marriage, according to an announcement in one of Murdoch's newspapers. An item in the New York Post's Liz Smith column said that the separation was amicable and that they were attempting to work out their differences. It said Anna Murdoch would continue to remain on the board of her husband's News Corp., whose global interests range from television to telecommunications. Murdoch met his future wife when she was a trainee reporter on the Sydney Daily Mirror. They have three children.

**Queen Elizabeth II** celebrated her 72d birthday privately on Tuesday with members of her family at Windsor Castle. An absentee was her husband the Duke of Edinburgh, who is in Australia on official business.

**Paula Jones** plans to step out in full evening dress at the White House Correspondents Association annual dinner Saturday night at the Washington Hilton. She'll be the guest of the conservative magazine *Insight*, according to a spokeswoman at the Rutherford Institute, which is underwriting Jones's continuing sexual harassment suit against President Bill Clinton. Clinton will sit on a dais at the black-tie banquet for 2,600; Jones will be somewhere toward the back of the ballroom. Laurence McCulligan, president of the association,

said, "I have tried to oversee a process where the priority seating goes to news organizations that cover the White House on a daily basis. And certainly the table for *Insight* magazine will be further back, based on that priority." The last time they were in the same room was on Jan. 17, when Jones was present for Clinton's deposition in her case.

The nearly instant selling out of a Spice Girls concert left some fans in tears after they camped out overnight in hopes of getting tickets, and the New York State attorney general is investigating possible violations of the state's ticket-scalping law. The 13,000 tickets for the British pop group's first New York City appearance at Madison Square Garden on July 1 were snapped up in 12 minutes, and there have already been reports of out-of-state ticket brokers selling the \$35 and \$50 tickets for hundreds of dollars.

**Sir Paul McCartney** plans to issue a tribute album to his wife, Linda, including several songs that she wrote and recorded shortly before she died Friday of cancer at age 56.

Best wishes, songs and friends — the usual for a birthday party. And when the toasts are the jazz great **Lionel Hampton**, count on good vibes. Bill Cosby was emcee and Betty Carter and Tito Puente were among those on hand at a New York

party to sing "Happy Birthday" to Hampton, who smiled, turned 90 — and kept on playing. "I feel like I'm 25," Hampton said. "I feel like I want to play until I'm 125."

**Pinchas Zukerman** has been appointed to a four-year term as music director of the National Arts Center Orchestra of Canada. Zukerman, the internationally known violinist, violist and conductor, succeeds Trevor Pinnock. Zukerman, who made his debut with the Ottawa-based orchestra in 1976, will hold the title of music director-designate until June 30, 1999, and serve as music director through the 2001-2002 season.

**Michael Bolton** has hired lawyers and accountants to look into the finances of the charitable organization that bears his name. Connecticut state records show the Michael Bolton Foundation, a charity for women and children, raised nearly \$2.6 million in 1995, but less than 15 percent went to the needy. The foundation said in a statement that the singer "will take any corrective action that may be necessary."

**Denzel Washington**, who plays the father of a high school basketball player in Spike Lee's new movie, "He Got Game," said he's interested in directing. "Acting's like someone asking you for years to write the characters, but they write the book," he said in *Esquire* magazine.



Rupert and Anna Murdoch have decided to separate.

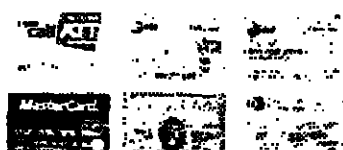


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